

AMERICA

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY AT HOME

Labor's Finger in Management's Pie

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POLITICAL DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN

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COMMENT ON THE WEEK

The current paper shortage forces us next week to re-enter the straitened confines of our wartime format. We cordially invite those who suffer with us to look forward, as we do, to the spacious days of the new AMERICA (now in process of design) which promises to compensate us all—we trust—for our present restrictions.

President Rebuffed. For the second time in two harrowing weeks Big Business rejected compromise settlements, sponsored by the President of the United States, of industrial disputes which affected the public interest. In both cases the unions involved recognized an obligation to the general welfare and accepted the Presidential recommendations. There had been lively hopes in Washington, following meetings in the White House between Philip Murray, President of the United Steelworkers of America, and Benjamin Fairless, President of the U. S. Steel Corporation, that a settlement would be reached before the strike deadline which, at Mr. Truman's request, had been postponed a week to midnight, January 20. The parties were not far apart, a matter of four and one-half cents an hour standing in the way of a settlement. When this difference proved insurmountable, President Truman proposed a compromise of eighteen and one-half cents an hour. This was three and one-half cents above Mr. Fairless' best offer, one cent below Mr. Murray's final demand. Alleging that this wage increase would have an injurious effect on the steel industry, its customers and the American people, Mr. Fairless said "No." Two days later the steel strike was on. "It is a matter of great regret to me," said President Truman, vainly asking U. S. Steel to reconsider, "and I am sure that it will be to all the people of the United States, that all our efforts to avoid this steel strike have up to now failed." And so it happened that one of the most patient and reasonable and peace-loving leaders of American labor found himself directing the largest strike in American history.

What Goes Here? In a letter to Secretary of the Treasury Vinson, dated January 22, Mr. Murray charged that "the true design of the steel industry is to destroy labor unions and to remain unchallenged in its determined effort to obtain uncontrolled profits." Pointing out that under existing tax laws the U. S. Treasury is obligated

not merely to rebate any losses incurred by the steel industry during 1946 but even to guarantee profits, the head of the USA-CIO called upon Mr. Vinson "to take immediate steps to terminate this outrageous condition." He estimated that if the steel industry broke even in 1946, the U. S. Treasury would have to pay it \$149 million. Mr. Murray's letter emphasizes a very serious question that has already been raised in other quarters, namely, is a certain segment of Big Business, strengthened by an incredibly favorable tax situation, determined on a show-down fight with the unions with a view to destroying them? Is something even more serious involved? In his January 21 column, which failed to appear in the N. Y. *World-Telegram*, Thomas L. Stokes accused Big Business management of attempting to "take over" President Truman or "break" him. In view of the gravity of these charges, of the great injury strikes are inflicting on the general welfare, and in justice to the corporations involved, we believe that Congress should investigate this situa-

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tion immediately. Senator Wayne Morse, Oregon Republican, has already called for such an investigation. The taxpayers certainly have a right to the assurance that their money is not being used to destroy unions or to break the President of the United States.

Far East Conferences. Last week many of the outstanding problems in the Far East either were already in responsible conferences or were about to be brought there. In China the Political Consultative Council, after distributing the chief questions to appropriate committees, slowed down perceptibly in its efforts to arrive at a common program. The conflict between the Communists and Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang is largely over the selection of a just criterion for balancing their respective powers, both politically and militarily. In Korea the meeting between representatives of the Russian and American occupation governments, which was expected to unify Korea, has gone well into its second week with the curtain of absolute secrecy still drawn tightly about it. A suspicion that all does not go well was raised by Tass's recent blast at what was cited as United States approval of reactionary elements. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, with sporadic engagements continuing, the conflicting parties seemed farther apart than ever as a result of the reactionary tone of the Hague Assembly's decision to send Van Mook back to Batavia for further negotiation. Two events lightened the depression: England's decision to send one of her most able diplomats, Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, to mediate between the Dutch and Javanese, and Sutan Sjahrir's polite but firm dismissal of Russia's demand for English withdrawal from the scene.

Russia and Britain. Russia, charged with interference by the Iranian government, countered with a charge of interference by Britain in Greece and Indonesia. The British reaction was surprisingly mild, at least on the surface. They cordially welcomed the opportunity to have UNO assure itself of their policy and conduct. They reminded the Russians that an invitation to have Russian observers in Greece had been refused; had it been accepted, said the British, Russia would not at the moment be so misinformed. James B. Reston, *New York Times* correspondent in London said January 22 that "nobody could be found at the General Assembly today who took seriously the Russian charges that the maintenance of British troops in Indonesia and Greece was a threat to peace and security." The British are in Greece under the Yalta commitment to keep order there

until free elections are held; and the Greek Premier announced that he wished them to remain until their task was finished. (It is noteworthy that attacks on the Greek Government have been from the Right rather than the Left.) In Indonesia, the leader of the unrecognized "republic," though his followers had clashed with the British, also announced his willingness that the British should remain. All in all, it would seem that the Russian diplomatic offensive has fallen pretty flat. Ironically enough, the British had tried to get Iran not to press its complaint; and at the time of the Russian move, it was probable enough that the complaint might be withdrawn. With the fall of the Teheran government, this has become even more probable. The net result has only been to promote disillusionment and cynicism about Russia's role in UNO.

Elections under Occupation. Germans in the American-occupied zone went to the polls to cast their secret ballots on January 20 for the first time since 1933. It was an election very limited in scope, with only seventeen counties voting, but it has revealed two interesting facts. First, a remarkable percentage of eligible voters cast their ballots—eighty-three per cent; second, in a section of Germany predominantly Catholic, the Social Democratic party led the Christian Social Union by a comfortable margin. This was very surprising, particularly since the Union was thought to appeal to all who had belonged to the old Center Party and even to many non-Catholics who would be attracted by its Christian philosophy. Perhaps the key to this near-contradiction is supplied by observers on the spot to the effect that, despite the large turn-out to vote, a great number of the Germans expressed their indifference as to which particular party would win. Can it be that thus far, at any rate, we have interested the Germans only in the processes of democracy and not in its substance? Have we sold them the technique of marking and casting a ballot, without having interested them in learning what they are voting for? It would seem so and, if so, then our occupation policy in Germany has not been making use of the forces for democracy that exist in our zone. Those forces are the Christian, and particularly the Catholic, churches; had they been geared to instructing the people on the meaning of the vote, there can be little doubt that the native instincts and traditions of the voters would have been channeled into a more intelligent use of their first free vote. A more decisive vote will take place in the same zone a week hence; a widening of the present trend will suggest strongly that we ought

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to give some thought to enlisting the forces of Christianity toward a democracy that will be substantial, and not merely the superficial appearance of a democracy.

Housing Bill. At the midwinter meeting of the New York State Bankers Association on January 20, a member of the American Bankers Association took advantage of the opportunity to reiterate views of financiers on the General Housing Bill (S. 1592). The bill, say the bankers, does not get at the cause of the emergency. This, they maintain, is not financial but rather a shortage of manpower and materials in the building industry. There is, of course, no denying that a shortage exists of both trained manpower and essential materials. That this present shortage is the sole cause of the scarcity of decent houses for our people is simply incorrect. Over and above the disorganization and lack of cooperation within the industry, the absence of proper credit for moderate-priced homes has been a contributing factor to the shortage. The bankers' statement that adequate credit already exists seems to ignore completely the less fortunate half of our population who cannot buy houses in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 class. The need for homes cannot properly be judged by demand for them at present prices and under credit terms laid down by the bankers. Insuring of housing loans up to 90 per cent would indeed hold possibilities of inflation were it not for the fact that soundness of credit and realism in prices will be watched by the Federal Housing Administration. In view of past performance there is every reason to expect that the end result will be better supervision of housing credit and more concern for the objective housing needs of all the people.

Peaceful Picketing. In this country the right to picket cannot be questioned. The highest court in the land has said that this right is a form of free speech and assembly guaranteed by the Constitution to all. But it is equally unquestioned that, to be legal, picketing must be peaceful. For the exercise of violence on the picket line there is no justification either in law or in morals. Public authorities are merely performing their duties when they see to it that traffic is kept open both for individuals and vehicles, when they stop the use of fraudulent signs, when they insist on order. Because there have been some abuses on picket lines during the current strikes, the American Civil Liberties Union recently addressed a letter to the heads of the AFL and CIO reminding them

of the harm done to organized labor by unlawful picketing. The following is sound doctrine:

But no claims of the right to picket justify the use of force to prevent access to plants on strike by those who are willing to cross picket lines. Reports of current strikes show instances in which pickets have prevented access to plants by executive officers, by maintenance crews keeping up such services as heat and lighting, and by clerical workers not members of the striking union. These are plain abuses of the right of picketing.

We hope Messrs. Green and Murray will bring this communication to the attention of their respective organizations. Labor's objectives are too sacred to be compromised by the use of illegal means.

Evolution in Spain. Hope for a peaceful evolution in Spain toward a more democratic society lies in strengthening social-minded elements among the clergy and laity and in a progressive weakening of the Falange. Recent developments give reason to believe that this shift in influence is under way. There have been two splendid pronouncements on social questions by members of the Hierarchy, Bishop Pildain of Las Palmas, and Cardinal-Designate Parrade y García, Archbishop of Granada. Several changes have been made in the Government which strengthen the hand of the non-Falangist Foreign Minister Alberto Martín Artajo. Now the *New York Times* reports that *Ecclesia*, official organ of Catholic Action, has just published a sharply worded warning on the necessity of speeding social reforms. It suggested that "the silence of the proletarian classes—forbidden to strike and restrained from means of uprising—" is not an "inevitable sign of their complete contentment." Voices were raised, the editorial continued, over Spain's advanced social legislation, but there was silence about the injustices, "for example, of absentee landlordism, a deep and endemic wrong in Andalusia, where few landlords either know or see their possessions and where laborers live as they can on hunger wages." Since the Foreign Minister is a former head of Catholic Action, it is unlikely this editorial was published without knowledge and approval of the Spanish Government. Heartening, indeed, are these signs that the more loyal and intelligent children of the Church are stressing the Papal social program as an answer to the problems of Spain.

Mission Task in Japan. The size of the missionary task which the Church must undertake in Japan is made clear by Richard T. Baker, correspondent for *Religious News Service*, reporting from Tokyo. In Nagasaki alone the atomic bomb killed 10,000 Catholics, destroyed half of the churches and schools, all but one religious house

and all the Catholic social institutions, such as hospitals, kindergartens, etc. The 1940 figures listed 300 Catholic churches and chapels in Japan. Of these 59 were totally destroyed and many others badly damaged. Destroyed too were 71 school buildings, 37 rectories, 90 other buildings on Catholic compounds, 5 missionary institutes, two publishing houses, a welfare center and 4 Bishops' residences. In Tokyo the Cathedral stands today as four stark walls. The Cathedral of Sendai is a broken Gothic arch and a pile of rubble. The cathedrals of Nagasaki and Hiroshima were demolished by the atom bomb. What makes the task of reconstruction both imperative and worthwhile is the vast growth of the Catholic body during the war years and their deep loyalty, often at great cost, to the Faith. There is a sad lack of vocations to the priesthood, because for so many years all young men were in the armed services; but vocations to the sisterhoods increased from 772 in 1939 to 989 in 1944. With the dawn of brighter prospects for the Faith in Japan since V-J Day, it is to be hoped that the missionaries of Japan will have generous assistance from Catholics in the gigantic task of rebuilding and extending the Church's important mission among the Japanese people.

The Right Kind of Education. The other day two items in the same newspaper of the same date caught our eye. Item one attributed an increase in juvenile delinquency to slum conditions, broken homes and "*the mental conflict of the growing generation about what is right and what is wrong.*" The second item was a statement of Governor Dewey of New York:

It is more true today than ever before that civilization is a race between education and catastrophe. It is also a race between the right kind of education and the wrong kind of education. . . . Today's problems are social problems and problems of the quality and strength of the human mind and spirit.

Put the two items side by side and you come to one evident conclusion. The right kind of education is that which helps today's youth to distinguish between right and wrong. That should be the starting point in any discussion of education.

Because the Catholic Church is so sure of this, it has set up its own system of schools whose aim above all others is to give youth the principles for judging right from wrong and to bring into their daily lives the strengthening power of religion so that they may act according to what is right and reject what is wrong. Public education seems to see more clearly than before that it cannot escape this peremptory problem of the relation of ethics and religion to education. Its unwillingness to take hold of the problem arises, it appears, from its inability to grasp the fact that ethics and religion are a matter of public as well as of private concern, and that they make the difference between good education and bad education; that, in a word, the problem is not one of saving or bolstering religion, but of saving education. Only when it grasps this truth will it see how hollow are its nice sharp quibbles over the relation of ethics to religion and of religion to sectarianism and the union of Church and State.

Candlemas. The second of February is no longer a holyday of obligation; it seems no longer to have its ancient hold on popular love, enjoyed especially in countries where it marked the end of Winter and the re-beginning of work in the fields. Yet it is one of the oldest feasts in the Church. It has had many names. Originally, it was simply "the feast of the fortieth day," commemorating Mary's fulfilment of the Mosaic law prescribing purification after childbirth. The Feast originated in the East, as a Feast of Our Lord; it spread only slowly in the West, where it took the character of a Feast of Our Lord. The Greeks called it "The Meeting" of Jesus with Simeon and Anna. For the Copts it was "The Presentation" of Jesus, and for the Armenians, "The Coming" of the Son of God into the Temple. The rich liturgical imagination of the Middle Ages introduced the blessing of candles and the procession, symbolizing the entry of the Light of the World into the Temple of His Father. Let this symbolism newly capture our imaginations. The shadows left by the war still lengthen over the earth; the nations still sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, needing an answer to Simeon's prayer that our steps be directed into the way of peace. But the world is still God's temple; the temporal order, as well as the individual soul, has been redeemed by Christ. It is destined for an illumination—but only through us. We are called to "proceed" into the world, in solid ranks, letting our lives and actions be the massed rays of the Light of the World. We need to pray for Divine grace to give us the strength to fulfil this call.

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WASHINGTON FRONT

When Senator McMahon's Special Senate Committee on Atomic Energy resumes its hearings, some people in Washington, including the Senator and the atomic scientists themselves, will be watching with some interest to see if they attract any more interest from the public press and the public than they did before. At that time, the threat of strikes, unrest in the Army and the Pearl Harbor hearings got the lion's share of space and attention.

Yet, compared with these, the problem of what to do with atomic energy is as a mountain compared to a molehill. Fortunately, it was the atomic scientists themselves who succeeded in arousing the conscience of the Congress, if not of the country, and in discrediting the hastily drawn May-Johnson bill which would have permanently muzzled the scientists and left control of all atomic energy in the hands of the military.

Unfortunately, the scientists are still muzzled. They can tell us in general terms of the horrible nature of the bomb and its effects; they can try to communicate their fright to us. But they are hindered by their oath and by security measures from giving us the details which would prove what they assert.

Senator McMahon has drawn up what he calls an interim measure (S. 1717) which puts control of all the production of fissionable material in the government (as against the May-Johnson bill, which would allow private production); makes this control civilian (under May-Johnson, it could be all military), and coordinates it with foreign policy.

Meanwhile, there are some terrible facts. According to last (quite recent) reports, the Army, at its two big factories, was producing bombs on a twenty-four-hour basis. These bombs are bigger than ever; and this production continues subject to no law.

This raises some questions. What are we going to do with the enormous stockpile of bombs we have? Give them to UNO? Why are we making more? Who told the Army to keep on? When we get enough, will we hypocritically tell the world we think that the making of more atomic bombs should be banned?

The scientists have their own Federation of Atomic Scientists. In addition to this, there is in Washington, working closely with the Federation, the National Committee of Atomic Information, with headquarters at 1621 K St. N.W. This committee supplies information on the issues involved.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

It won't do for a Catholic to try to prove he's no anti-Semite by piously declaring that "some of my best friends are Jews." It won't do because it doesn't prove a thing. Nor should a Catholic be fooled into accepting such slick and shallow arguments as this: some Jews are guilty of sharp practices, therefore most, or all, Jews are sharpers. "This trick of forming a collective judgment from individual instances should have a familiar ring to Catholics," says the Rev. Gregory Feige in his pamphlet, *Catholics and Jews—A Study in Human Relations*, just published by the Catholic Association for International Peace. The trick should have a familiar ring to Catholics because it has been used so often by anti-Catholics against Catholicism.

► The Jewish problem, continues Father Feige, is not merely an economic, racial, social or political problem. "The Jew is tied to us [Catholics] by the ties of a religious relationship which puts him in close spiritual contact with us. . . . The Catholic has ceased to be a true disciple of his Divine Master when he no longer looks upon the Jews with the eyes of faith." The Catholic who views the Jew only as the representative of another race "has lost contact with the sentiments of the Church, which has always put first the fundamental idea that 'God has made from one blood the whole race of man.'"

► Servicemen to the number of 126, including veterans of many campaigns, ex-prisoners of war and seamen, have been accepted since V-J Day at Campion House, Osterley, England, the center for late vocations which Father Edmund Lester, S.J., founded after the close of the first World War.

► Two resolutions adopted by Missouri Baptists in a recent Evangelistic Conference reflect an interesting religious mentality. The first resolution strongly opposed a State Senate bill granting bus-transportation services to children in religious and private schools; the second as strongly supported a bill before the State House of Representatives requiring more lights in taverns, taprooms and roadhouses.

► Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison told an audience of Methodists in St. Louis that "an educational system which purports to reflect the major interests of its society and which excludes the study of religion is falling short of its own theory, and falling short at its most vital point." If religion is not included in the public-school curriculum, he said, Protestant churches must establish their own schools.

A. P. F.

LABOR'S FINGER IN MANAGEMENT'S PIE

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

If it is necessary to give an excuse for returning once more to the strike at General Motors, this might be said: of all the strikes now in progress, or impending, it is the only one that clearly raises fundamental questions. When Walter Reuther, vice-president of the United Automobile Workers (CIO), insisted that collective bargaining be conducted within the limits of the Government's reconversion wage-price policy, thereby making prices and, inferentially, profits a subject of discussion, he started a debate that will keep Harold Denny's Town Hall of the Air, and many a lesser town hall, busy for some years to come.

Before many more anxious days go by, it is possible that the postwar maneuvering among labor, management and the Government will be over, the strike wave only a ripple on a flood of production for the fattest peacetime market in history. It may even be that the epic UAW-GM struggle will be over, although it is hard to set a limit on the obstinacy of General Motors' management. But to the discerning the questions raised by Mr. Reuther will remain unanswered, and some day the answers will have to be found.

This essay is an attempt to provide background for two of these questions, namely: 1) What is the area of collective bargaining? 2) What are the rights of management? Since these questions are twin faces of the same coin, I shall discuss them together. If the rights of management are fixed, so are the limits of collective bargaining.

Central to the thesis of capitalism, as it was developed by British economists during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was the idea of liberty. If men were left free, it was argued, to pursue their enlightened self-interest, labor and land and capital would be put to the most efficient use and the public welfare automatically advanced. In a free marketplace, where competition and the law of supply and demand were the only regulating factors, it was said that men possessed a regulating principle for economic activity superior to anything the human mind could devise. In such a system, since all forms of interference with the market mechanism were necessarily bad, the State was restricted to a minor and mostly negative role. On the other hand, property rights and, by way of corollary, the prerogatives of management were understood in a virtually unrestricted sense.

Logically there was no place for trade unionism

in this laissez-faire framework. If the system was to function perfectly, all the factors in the economic process-rent, interest, capital and labor-must be subject to the law of supply and demand in a competitive market. By organizing, workers would be in a position to defy the operation of this law, and thus the cost of one of the most important elements in the productive process would be outside the market machinery. For this reason, as well as for others not so disinterested, capitalists opposed the efforts of workers to organize, and in the first capitalistic countries—England, France, Belgium—trade unionism was forbidden by law.

When, therefore, the right of workers to organize was legally recognized, the unrestricted right of management to manage was to some extent curtailed. In this country, trade unionism was never forbidden by law but, apart from a few industries, employers consistently denied the right of workers to unionize and opposed their efforts to do so. By and large the anti-union campaign, which in itself was perfectly legal, succeeded remarkably well, and by the end of the Hoover Administration only a small fraction of American workers were organized. Following the passage of the National Labor Relations Act in 1935, which legalized the right to organization and compelled employers to bargain collectively with the freely chosen representatives of their workers, the situation changed rapidly. Today about fifteen million workers are unionized.

There is then considerable difference between the rights of management as understood in 1900, or even in 1932, and the rights of management as understood today. The right of management to recognize or not recognize a union as it sees fit has been abrogated. So has its right to bargain collectively or not as it judged expedient. Other rights which management had traditionally assumed as the prerogatives of ownership have been considerably circumscribed, notably the right to dictate wages and hours and working conditions, and the right to hire and fire, to promote and demote, as seemed good to it. The history of collective bargaining has been a gradual whittling-down of management prerogatives.

Actually, by an oversight, perhaps, in the Wagner Act, there are no legal bounds to collective bargaining. In a famous case (Consumers' Research, Inc., 2 NLRB 57) in which the union demanded changes in the Company's board of directors, NLRB decided that it had "no power under the Act to decide upon the subject matter of substantive terms of a union agreement." Its duty was to see that collective bargaining had taken place. If the union wanted to discuss the composi-

tion of the board of directors, the employer was obliged to bargain. He was not obliged, however, to consent to the union demand, and whether or not he did consent was no concern of the Board.

On the other hand, the Board has approached the issue of foremen's unions with a ten-foot pole. Recently it recognized a foremen's union at the Packard Motor Company as a bargaining agent within the meaning of the National Labor Relations Act, but this judgment reversed a previous decision and was made with the expressed hope that the Supreme Court would settle the obscurity in the law. Since the issue raised by the organization of foremen impinges on the question of the rights of management, the present members of the Board seem much more aware of the problem than was the Board which wrote the decision in the Consumers' Research case.

In view of wartime developments in labor-management relations, this was to be expected.

Beginning with CIO President Philip Murray's suggestion for Industry Councils early in the defense program, management became extremely sensitive to its rights and suspicious of the ultimate designs of labor leadership. Its fears were heightened when Walter Reuther presented a detailed plan for all-out aircraft production in the automobile industry. Industry's reaction was a compound of fear and incredulity. When Mr. Reuther's plan was substantially placed in operation, the incredulity disappeared, but the fear remained. What was labor driving at?

To the War Production Board there seemed nothing sinister in labor's desire to increase output by cooperating with management. When the storm over industry councils had somewhat subsided, WPB sponsored a program of labor-management production committees. Although about 5,000 of these committees were functioning before the end of the war, an influential segment of industry steadily refused to have anything to do with the idea. "A political vehicle designed a long time ago in an effort to push labor farther into the management of industry," was the reaction of one great corporation.

From another direction, also, labor poached on what had been management's private preserves. With hourly wage rates rigidly controlled by the "Little Steel" formula, labor leaders were forced to adopt indirect means to advance the living standards of their followers. One of these was the injection of "social-security" demands into the collective-bargaining process. Unions began to ask that employers finance health insurance, hospitalization, unemployment benefits and other worthy schemes. When David Dubinsky's International

Ladies Garment Workers and Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers had persuaded employers some years ago to agree to "social-welfare" clauses, conservative New York newspapers, including the *Herald Tribune*, called it "labor statesmanship." Now it became an invasion of the rights of management—even in the eyes of the War Labor Board.

Throughout the war, WLB was intent on preserving the *status quo ante*. Neither labor nor management was to be permitted to make gains at the expense of the other. When the unions asked the Board to approve social-welfare clauses which employers had refused to accept in collective bargaining, the Board consistently turned them down. The only exception to this were union requests to continue such provisions where they had existed in previous contracts. The Board regularly ruled that the *introduction* of social-welfare schemes was the prerogative of management.

In its letter to the United Automobile Workers on December 17, proposing terms for a new contract, General Motors asked the union to agree

... that the products to be manufactured, the location of plants, the schedules of production, the methods, processes and means of manufacturing, the right to hire, promote, transfer, discharge or discipline for cause, and to maintain discipline and efficiency of employees, are the sole responsibility of the corporation.

To those acquainted with WLB procedure this must have had a familiar ring when they read it in the newspapers. It is almost word for word the clause defining the rights of management which WLB caused to be inserted into contracts and forced many a union to sign!

It is not so surprising that most unions signed without a protest. By and large, American labor leaders have no philosophy beyond the "business unionism" of Sam Gompers. They want for their followers as big a slice of the pie as possible, and they are content to let management have all the headaches of baking the pie. Those spokesmen for industry who are scaring people with the charge that labor is making a concerted drive to take over management have conjured up a specter out of pretty thin air. Even John L. Lewis doesn't mind signing a contract with coal operators which states that "the Mine Workers intend no intrusion upon the rights of management as heretofore practised and understood."

There are, of course, exceptions, and I don't mean the Communists. Theoretically American Communists are committed to the "dictatorship of the proletariat," and that remains their ultimate objective. Meanwhile they are complete opportunists, ready to approve a deal with Hitler, fraternize with the National Association of Man-

ufacturers or threaten a general strike, as the interests of Soviet Russia seem to indicate.

The exceptions I have in mind are some of the younger labor leaders who are thinking as much of the size of the pie as they are of labor's share. They are interested in hours, wages and working conditions; but they are interested, too, in what Walter Reuther calls the "economic equation"—wages, prices, profits. They no longer regard depressions as inevitable, like an earthquake, or measles in childhood. They think the boom-bust cycle is partly, at least, man-made; and that the wage-price-profit policies of Big Business have something to do with it. If this thesis is ever proved to the satisfaction of the American public, the country will have to decide whether it wants: 1) Big-Business management to continue its absolute control over the "economic equation," or b) the Government to assume responsibility for it, or c) labor and management to deal with the problem through the collective-bargaining process, assisted and watched by Government in the interest of the general welfare.

While this decision is pending, organized labor will move, as it is now moving, more or less unconsciously, to gain for workers greater economic security than they have known in the past. Unless interrupted by force, this process will involve a continual encroachment on prerogatives of management as generally understood, an evolution toward a new relationship between workers and employers, a relationship in which workers and employers, while remaining workers and employers, will become partners in a sense not yet understood or appreciated by either labor or management. An industrial statesman like Henry Kaiser is simply ahead of his times.

HOPE FOR DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN

H. G. QUARITCH WALES

In sweeping decrees General MacArthur would appear to have done all that is humanly possible to clear the way for the emergence of a genuine democracy in Japan. He has done away with State Shinto, ordered the release of all political prisoners, abolished the villainous "thought-control" police and seen to it that there shall in future be freedom of speech and assembly. Previously he had declared that elections would help the people to decide what form of government they wanted. And Washington has made it plain that no obstacle will be put in the way even of popular movements that may employ force to hasten the revolutionary

process. What, then, in these favorable circumstances, are the chances that the Japanese people will achieve a real democracy?

The strong line that we are now taking suggests that there is no longer danger of our falling into the pitfall in which a mock Japanese liberalism would have liked to ensnare us. The necessity of using Japanese officials during a transition period—a policy rendered inevitable by the sudden ending of the war—could not but invite the reappearance of the Japanese so-called liberal, the sort that before the war was produced to make contact with us and tell us what he thought would please us. But the bureaucrats must now surely realize how limited is to be their tenure of office, and they are as definitely doomed to eclipse as the *zaibatsu* big-business men, and the already eliminated militarists and secret-society terrorists.

But the determination not to allow any motive of expediency to perpetuate the old regime, however liberalized in form, does not remove all fear of oligarchy developing instead of the desired democracy. The Japanese people have had no recent experience of parliamentary government on the national scale. The recently resigned Cabinet, in promising a general election in January, 1946, knew full well that it would be quite easy to go through such an election as a matter of form—a form fulfilling the terms of the Potsdam declaration, but devoid of all meaning.

Few of Japan's genuine old liberals, who made such a brave showing in the middle 'thirties, survive to guide their countrymen now. Some Japanese intellectuals are reported to believe that the recall of Baron Shidehara to head the new Government will stimulate the resurgence of liberals as against the extremists of the Left. But among the political prisoners now being released from jail, the Communists form the most numerous, most active and potentially the best organized group. For they will be enormously encouraged to find that, just as they are getting out of jail, Russia is obtaining a share in the control of Japan. Can we doubt that they will be quick to take advantage of the perhaps violent reaction to the new freedoms to sway toward extremes a population still far from prepared, after their long repression, for the exercise of their rights?

Certainly Japan's past experience with the parliamentary form of government is by no means reassuring. Established as it was under the constitution of 1899, parliamentary rule has been so consistently subject to abuse in Japan that one may well doubt if the mere breaking of the recent militarist and right-wing grip is going to be sufficient to ensure popular government.

The fact is that the setting-up of a House

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of Peers and an elective House of Representatives did not prevent feudalism from maintaining a tight hold on the Japanese parliamentary system. Indeed, it had little in common with the American and British type of democracy on which it was ostensibly modeled. This applies with almost equal force to the period prior to 1940 when, as a war measure, all political parties were disbanded in order to make way for the new government party, the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, by means of which the new bureaucrats, hand in glove with the military, intended to establish a planned Nazi-type economy. Already, indeed, before 1940 the privilege gained by the Army and Navy of appointing their own Cabinet Ministers, who came to dominate the rest of the Cabinet, had destroyed all Japanese pretensions to democracy. But what is less well known is that, while political parties came into existence with the establishment of the Diet, they quickly became involved in corrupt alliances with the big business families. Such a state of affairs soon reduced to a polite fiction the Diet's control over legislation, its power to amend the budget and its right to criticize the Premier (who was appointed) and to question Cabinet members. Hence it is easy to see that Communists could very soon step into the shoes of the displaced *zaibatsu* and gain control of the electorate.

A tendency toward unwarranted interference by the central government was early in evidence throughout the administrative system. This applied particularly to the prefectural government, which corresponds to what in America would be called State government. The prefectural governors were appointed by the Tokyo Government's Department of Home affairs instead of being popularly elected. And the existence of a popularly elected prefectural assembly corresponding to the Diet was largely nullified by the Governor's power of veto. This meant there could be little local legislation without his approval.

Again, the central government has always maintained an interfering finger, at the very least, in every local pie. While the appointment of a representative of the national Department of Agriculture to advise in each village might seem comparatively harmless and even helpful, the organization of the local police, not as a locally appointed force but as members of a prefectural system, could hardly have been more ominous. It was but a step to the "thought-control" police and gendarmerie through which Japan built up a completely regimented state. But while institutions may be swept away, Japan's deep-rooted tradition of implicit obedience to authority cannot be abolished by decree. Nor can it be doubted

that, once the United States has withdrawn from actual occupation of the islands, the Communists will not hesitate to exploit this Japanese trait.

What, then, are the steps that we may take in order to encourage during our occupation the development of a true democracy? Fortunately, despite the central government's interference, there existed before Pearl Harbor at the town and village level a high degree of truly democratic government. It is at this level that there is the sharpest distinction from the old feudal authority with its kowtowing to domineering feudal lords. In every Japanese town and village there is a locally elected council which appoints its own mayor or village headman. He is a local worthy responsible to the people and enjoying their respect. In the cities the mayor was chosen for his previously proved administrative ability rather than on account of any political consideration.

Japan thus forms no exception to the rule now being generally recognized, that the best hope for democracy in Asia lies in the strengthening and expansion of the frequently existing village self-government. The influence of the local councils is indeed already being strengthened as Japanese women take a bigger share in the life of the community outside the home as workers and as experts in scientific and other specialized occupations. What is needed is that we free the local councils from central-government control. Then this local self-government must be helped to expand upward and outward through district and prefectural assemblies to the level of a National Assembly. Only then may the growth of a genuine democracy from the bottom up be assured, with government broadly based on popular approval.

This means that in place of the old ill-fated attempts to transplant a purely western institution, we may expect to see the emergence of a type of democracy that looks unfamiliar to us but is nevertheless the real thing. The Japanese, like other Asiatics, will prefer to rotate the responsibility of leadership among a number of men and will seek to reach decisions through discussion and compromise rather than in the clear-cut manner of western parliamentary usage.

The Japanese people are among the most literate in Asia. Hence they are in a favorable position to take full advantage of the free press and radio that we are assuring them as means of making contact with new ideas. But they will need leaders —men who will help them to adjust their local outlook to the task of forming judgments on national affairs. Since so few of the old liberal leaders have survived, nothing would be more natural than for the Communists to jump into the vacuum. Fortunately, there undoubtedly exists

a younger liberal intelligentsia in the middle walks of business, the professions and the universities, even in the middle grades of the civil service—men who often may have escaped prison sentences but have nevertheless been indoctrinated with "dangerous thoughts." To find and bring such men to the fore will naturally take time. So also will it take time to establish democracy on a firm basis, from the bottom up. That being so, it may be advisable for the first elections under our auspices to be held on a somewhat lower level than the national. As Mr. J. C. Vincent, chief of Far Eastern Affairs at the State Department, has said: Japan must be occupied until it is "well along the path of liberal reform." Short cuts may be tempting, but if we take them it is doubtful that we shall have done everything possible to fulfil our promise "to remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people."

PALESTINE CHRONICLE: III

WILLIAM J. GIBBONS

(Continued from last week)

In 1944 the Palestine question again became acute. At the end of March, and again in the Fall, there were gunfights and bombings involving the Stern gang and Irgun Zvai Leumi.

February 1. Senators Wagner and Taft introduce a resolution favoring development of Palestine as an independent Jewish Commonwealth and asking that the U. S. urge Britain to abrogate the 1939 White Paper which limits immigration. A similar resolution is introduced in the House.

March 1. Sen. Wagner replies to protests entered by the independent Arab states against the resolution.

March 4. General Marshall requests the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to postpone the resolution on Palestine. Secretary of War Stimson and Secretary of State Hull also request postponement. The Iraq parliament advises Vice-President Wallace that adoption would be tantamount to declaring war on the Arabs.

March 9. Drs. Wise and Silver, co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, announce that President Roosevelt supports Jewish efforts to establish a national homeland.

March 18. The House Foreign Affairs Committee defers action on the Palestine resolution.

March 28. Roosevelt says he agrees with position taken by the War department in deferring action.

March 31. Expiration of the five years allowed

for immigration by the White Paper. Due to war difficulties, quotas had rarely been filled.

April 27. Speaking in New York, the Anglican Archbishop of York defends British policy and says the Balfour Declaration "never stated that the whole of Palestine was to be turned into an independent state for Jews."

June 17. Hebrew Committee of National Liberation registers with U. S. State Department as an "agent of the Hebrew Nation." Bona-fide Jewish organizations demur.

August 1. Palestine Jewish Community elects its General Assembly for first time since 1931.

August 8. An attempt on the life of Sir Harold MacMichael, High Commissioner, in outskirts of Jerusalem, allegedly by members of the Stern gang.

August 30. Sir Harold MacMichael leaves the country, to be succeeded by Field Marshal Viscount Gort.

October 15. Both Roosevelt and Dewey send messages to the Zionist Organization meeting at Atlantic City, pledging support of a democratic Jewish commonwealth.

October 25. The Inner Zionist Council and the National Council of Palestine Jews score acts of violence by extremists.

November 11. Lord Moyne, who had been Colonial Secretary during the *Struma* and *Patria* tragedies, is slain in Cairo. He was reported to be evolving a new partition plan for Palestine. Two Stern-gang members, Eliahu Hakim, 18, and Bet-Zouri, 22, admitted the killing. The trial began in January. The boys defended their act on the grounds that they resisted a brutal colonial policy. The Arab world remained silent until a cablegram from an American Jewish organization asked that the boys be given a fair trial. Arab organizations at once began to send telegrams stating that the trial was a defense of Zionism and intolerable to the Pan-Islam cause. On January 18 the boys were condemned to death.

November 17. Winston Churchill warns the Jewish community to destroy terrorist groups and gangsterism. Dr. Weizmann pledges cooperation.

November 19. Meeting in Chicago, the National Conference on Palestine urges: unrestricted immigration and the right to buy land as other citizens; transplanting to Palestine of hundreds of thousands of Jews who need and wish to go; abandonment of the 1939 White Paper; recognition of a Jewish commonwealth, and United Nations assistance in transporting homeless Jews.

1945. The question of Palestine became ever more critical as the facts about the massacre of Jews in Europe were revealed. Before the end

of the year it was evident that under Hitler upwards of four million Jews had been liquidated.

March 21. Lord Gort announces a plan whereby by the office of Jerusalem Mayor will be successively held by a Moslem, a Jew and a Christian.

March 22. Delegates of six Arab States adopt a charter for the Arab League, banning force.

July 11. Continued resignations from the Jerusalem municipal council necessitate the appointment of five British officials to conduct administration.

July 16. Senator Brewster and Representative Celler write to President Truman urging that he "insist" on the opening of Palestine.

August 1. Opening the first World Zionist Conference since 1939, Dr. Weizmann asks that the United Nations establish a Jewish State in Palestine. Arab leaders immediately warn Prime Minister Attlee that "any solution laid down for Palestine which is not acceptable to the Arab population will threaten the peace of Palestine and the Arab Moslem world."

August 16. Truman reveals that his position at Potsdam was favorable to free settlement in Palestine up to a point consistent with civil peace.

September 20. In a final report as executive director of the War Refugee Board, William O'Dwyer, New York mayoralty candidate, urges reopening of Palestine to Jewish immigration.

September 23. British authorities decide to refer the Palestine problem to the UNO. The British Cabinet had received a letter from President Truman supporting Jewish requests for immediate immigration of 100,000 Jews.

September 26. Truman denies Roosevelt made any commitment to Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia not to support Jewish claims in Palestine.

October 3. Iraq warns the U. S. that support of Zionism "is deemed an act directed against Iraq in particular and the Arab peoples in general."

October 15. Sen. Brewster says in New York that Britain's imperialistic policy is responsible.

October 18. Secretary of State Byrnes declares the U. S. will make no final decision on Palestine without consultation with Arab leaders. Truman says he hopes Britain will admit 100,000 Jews. The text of the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud correspondence is published.

October 20. Legations of Arab States reveal a memorandum to Byrnes warning of war if the attempt to set up a Jewish commonwealth continues. They offer to cooperate on a compromise.

October 23. The American Zionist Emergency Council protests to Byrnes about consulting Arab states on Palestinian affairs. Hadassah cables Attlee protesting "callous" treatment of Jews "by

a government which has given solemn international pledges to defend their rights."

October 24. In New York 100,000 persons hear Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, call for fulfilment of the Balfour Declaration and abrogation of the 1939 White Paper. Sen. Brewster, in Chicago, urges development of a Jewish Palestinian state as a "listening post" in a "desert of backward and primitive Arab countries." Simultaneously Cairo reports that Arab leaders are threatening economic sanctions upon Middle-East oil concessions.

November 1. Sabotage of the Palestinian transportation system at fifty points from Acre to Gaza. Three police barges are sunk or damaged at Jaffa and Haifa. The Arab Office in London states that Zionists are trying to force action in their favor. In Washington, delegates to the Christian Conference for Palestine urge that immigration be permitted. In Cairo, Egyptian nationalists stage demonstrations, wrecking shops of Jews and non-Jews. One thousand are arrested during four days of rioting.

November 4. Maj. Gen. Loewen, commander of Northern Palestine, orders a curfew. More British troops arrive.

November 7. More than 100 Jews are slain in Tripoli and other cities.

November 8. Viscount Gort is replaced by Lt. Gen. Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham as High Commissioner. The Arab Office in London says that Truman's proposal to admit 100,000 Jews was made without consulting Arab leaders.

November 12. 600 Rabbis march to the White House and the British Embassy, asking that Palestine be opened to immigration.

November 13. Foreign Minister Bevin and President Truman announce a U. S.-British agreement to appoint a joint committee of inquiry to examine the question of European Jews and Palestine. Bevin adds that Palestine will become a trustee state of the UNO and in time is to be independent. He also states that 1,500 Jews will be admitted each month despite White Paper restrictions. Truman still asks that 100,000 be admitted. In Tel Aviv riots break out, and the Zionists call a nationwide strike. The Arab left-wing National Liberation League asks that Russia be represented on inquiry committee. In New York Drs. Wise and Silver say that the U. S. has fallen into a trap to cause further delay.

November 19. The Zionist Organization of America votes a \$51,700,000 budget for 1946 for immigration, land-acquisition and settlement.

November 29. Truman withdraws support of a Jewish commonwealth, stating that conditions

have changed since the resolution was offered the Senate.

December 3. The Arab League boycotts all Jewish-made goods from Palestine, effective January 1.

December 10. Washington and London announce their respective six members of the twelve-man British-American Commission of Inquiry. The Arab League pledges cooperation but the Palestine Arab Council expresses opposition.

December 12. Senate Foreign Relations Committee approves the Palestine resolution, 17 to 1. On the 19th the House adopted the resolution.

December 23. Sumner Welles, chairman of the American Christian Palestine Committee, says the Trusteeship Council of UNO should establish a Jewish commonwealth "with armed force."

As the year ended, restrictions on immigration occasioned new bombings, raids and gun battles in Palestine. The British proclaimed a curfew, searched for arms and brought in more troops.

SCIENCE NOTES

The Schmidt telescope, the most modern and efficient type of astronomical telescope, is essentially a photographic camera of special design. Such a telescope is designed only for critical study of special celestial objects like the very distant extra-galactic nebulae, for which great light-gathering power rather than a wide field of view is of prime concern.

In the summer of 1930, Bernhard Schmidt, an obscure German instrument-maker and optician of the Hamburg Observatory in Bergedorf, constructed and used a small telescope destined to revolutionize the design of astronomical telescopes. In 1931 he published a brief account of the instrument, purposely omitting the significant details which were essential to its successful design and construction. It was not until after Schmidt's premature death in 1935 that the secret was finally revealed by Dr. Richard Schorr, Director of the Hamburg Observatory. This was just about the time when other astronomers, who had meanwhile been working independently on the basis of hints in the original paper, were coming forward with the real solution.

Now, ten years later, the Schmidt telescopes and other designs derived from them, after having been of wartime use for airplane cameras, are beginning to dominate the field of astronomical photography. Schmidt telescopes with three-foot mirrors are in use by professional astronomers at Warner and Swazey Observatory in Cleveland, and at Harvard Observatory's Oak Ridge ob-

serving station. Mt. Palomar Observatory in California has a 26-inch Schmidt in operation, and a 72-inch under construction. Russian astronomers have ambitious plans for more and more Schmidt-type telescopes.

The secret of the Schmidt design lies in the combined use of a mirror having a *spherical* surface (the optical surface easiest to grind) and of a smaller and much thinner lens or "correcting plate" placed near the open end of the telescope tube, at the center of curvature of the spherical surface of the mirror. Since the lens is thin, the instrument is free from the color defects associated with refracting telescopes. Since the lens is given a peculiar curved surface that precisely balances out the only optical "aberration" introduced by the spherical mirror, the instrument is free from the defects associated with *parabolic* reflecting telescopes. In fact, it produces sharp images over a wide field of view (as much as twenty degrees in diameter) even when the camera is designed to be "fast."

The departure of the correcting lens from a plane surface is imperceptible to the naked eye but, since one side of the glass plate has a convex central portion with the outer portions concave, the surface has to be carefully figured by skilled opticians. In addition, the focal surface of the original Schmidt-type telescope is not flat but strongly curved, with its convex side toward the spherical mirror, and its center of curvature identical with that of the mirror. The result is that the ordinary flat photographic plates have to be bent into a spherical surface during the exposure. This requirement is easily met by using a metal plate-holder (placed between the correcting lens and the mirror) which forces the glass to bend and provide the requisite spherical surface for the duration of the exposure. After the exposure, the glass plate is removed from the holder and springs flat again. More complicated Schmidt telescopes solve the difficulty of a curved field of focus by introducing another mirror into the optical system so as to produce a flat field of focus.

The superlative performance of the Schmidt telescopes now in operation arises from the fact that they unite in one instrument the best features of both the refracting and the reflecting telescopes. They produce sharp images to the very edge of a relatively large glass photographic plate, and with an exposure time of ten minutes (instead of several hours) they can record images of stars which are about 70,000 times fainter than those visible to the naked eye. The Schmidt telescope has therefore ushered in a new era in astronomical photography.

WALTER J. MILLER, S.J.

REPORT FROM LONDON

ROBERT A. GRAHAM

LONDON, Jan. 23 (By wireless).—Like a man who feels that he has accomplished his main job, Secretary Byrnes, head of the American delegation, prepared to leave the United Nations General Assembly as soon as the atomic-energy matter was fairly on its way. Thanks to his efforts, to the Truman-Attlee-King statement, to the Moscow Conference, to UNO's General Assembly, the world has its answer to the urgent question of what to do with the atomic bomb, or, rather, what to do about the problems raised by the atomic bomb. Mr. Byrnes' wind-up at this juncture emphasized how critical was the issue raised by the presence in our midst of this new scientific monster. First of all, there was the great alarm in the public mind as scientists warned of the consequences of an atomic war. Second, there was the equally grave question of reaching an understanding with the Soviet Union, which knows all too well that it is not (at least, yet) an atomic Power. In short, here was an issue that from the viewpoint both of idealism and of realism simply had to be met, as far as issues of this kind can be met, to everyone's satisfaction.

As soon as the atomic business was agreed upon by UNO, the veto question in the Security Council presented itself here in several interesting connections. It well known that since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, more criticism than ever before has been leveled at the concept of national sovereignty. Whether the atom bomb made UNO obsolete has been frequently in question. In fact, officials of at least two atomic Powers have said publicly that the atomic age demands abatement of concepts of sovereignty. Here in Britain both Eden and Bevin, Conservative and Labor, have expressed this view. Mr. Bevin wants a world parliament. The British have no illusions; their problem is survival. One wonders here whether Britain, once the guardian of the *status quo*, isn't now the most liberal of countries. Americans find it embarrassing to see the British take the lead in these matters over the United States. Canada, too, has spoken to the point. Chief Delegate Louis St. Laurent, said before the Assembly on January 18 that, within democratic and well ordered states, it has been necessary to replace personal redress and privately armed retainers by law and courts of justice and by officers of the peace. So it should be, he thought, in the international sphere. "If this be the way to world government, then the Canadian Government wholeheartedly supports world government."

To date no American official has expressed such sentiments. This atomic question calls attention to a contrary attitude. The struggle within the American delegation on the security provisions of the atomic agreement reminds us that we are not ready to give up sovereignty. The delegation here was told that in the present mood of our Senate, it is extremely doubtful that our candidate would be confirmed if the security provisions regarding the secret were not unambiguous. Senator Connally's labored efforts to dispel doubts is evidence of this extreme jealousy. In fact, in Mr. Connally's statement we find the much-condemned veto alleged as the reason why atomic agreement is agreeable to our national interests: "The commission is authorized to make recommendations but not to compel action upon the part of any states. Each state will be free to consider acceptance or rejection of the Commission's recommendations in accordance with its own constitutional processes." If Russia loves the veto, so does the United States; but a jealous Senate and perhaps an equally jealous American public do not yet realize the lessons of the atomic age. For, once it rejoices in the veto, we are a long, long way from world government.

In this matter, as in that of placing responsibility upon the world-wide basis where it properly belongs, our best hope is that the present agreement is a transitional measure towards constructing the only kind of agency which can cope with the problem.

Aside from satisfying the world demand for some definite program on atomic-energy control, the equally delicate job of bringing Russia into the program without undue disclosures was Mr. Byrnes' responsibility. The fact that the Soviet Union sponsored the five-power resolution of an atomic-energy commission tells us he was successful on the realistic level as well as on the idealistic. On one hand, this agreement solved an awkward situation created by Russia's not being an atomic Power and, on the other, the agreement is essentially that of the Truman-Attlee-King statement. It is no wonder that Mr. Byrnes decided he could go home when this task had been accomplished. For, upon clarification of the atomic-energy situation hinged many other grave problems. UNO has still a big job ahead of it and many headaches, but the real log-jam has been broken. Mr. Byrnes can go away satisfied that what could have wrecked not only this UNO Assembly but the whole structure of international relations has been settled for the time being. The Secretary of State will need rest; crises like these come frequently these days.

STATE OF THE NATION

EDIA

Over a million men were striking for higher wages and a better life than they had known before the war. With a few insignificant exceptions, steel plants throughout the land stood silent and deserted, attended only by peaceful but very earnest pickets. For more than two months, the largest automobile company in the world had not turned out a single car. There was a strike in the meatpacking industry which threatened to make vegetarians out of meat-loving Americans. Westinghouse and General Electric were shut down tight. The flood-tide of inflation was lapping at the dikes built by the OPA.

In London, amid doubt and cynicism and behind-the-scenes power politics, the American delegation to the United Nations Organization was trying to build a new world, a world of peace based on justice—and force. In Germany and Japan, in China and the Philippines, American soldiers were crying to come home. The job of occupation was proving harder than we had figured; in Germany it was not going any too well.

For almost a full week President Truman delayed sending his message on the State of the Union to the re-assembled 79th Congress. He was obviously waiting for a break in the labor-management impasse, a break that never came. The steel industry, spearheaded by the U. S. Steel Corporation, spurned the last chance for quick industrial peace.

We have scarcely had time to read, much less to digest, the combined Budget Message and message on the State of the Union. The document runs to 25,000 words—the longest message on record—and deals with a host of questions. It is obvious, though, that, apart from budgetary details, Mr. Truman told the Congress nothing that he had not told it several times before. In the Presidential hat there were no rabbits.

Mr. Truman is still afraid of inflation today and deflation tomorrow; he wants industry to pay high wages and hold prices steady; he wants fact-finding boards to help settle industrial disputes. He renewed demands for a full-employment bill, for an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act raising minimum wages, for a fair-employment-practice bill. His support for the loan to Britain, UNRRA, the United Nations Organization, was restated and re-emphasized. He again advocated universal peacetime military training and unification of the armed services.

It was the same Harry Truman, hewing patiently and gently to a line marked out months

ago. It is, he believes, the line laid down by his great predecessor, the line written into the Democratic platform and approved by the voters in the last election. Wise politicians shuddered and wondered whether Harry was risking the ruin of the Democratic Party. Other politicians, wiser, perhaps, recalled that the Democrats never yet won an election on a conservative program.

What the President had to say about the 1947 budget impressed the Congress more favorably than what he had to say about the State of the Union. After years of deficits, he held out the promise of an almost balanced budget. Everybody applauded, even the proponents of government spending to maintain production. According to their theory, the Government should spend little anyhow in a period of prosperity, tax heavily. That's the rub. Congress likes to reduce taxes, especially in an election year; but if taxes are reduced, that 1947 budget won't be balanced. To the conservatives in Congress the President threw a curve on that one.

Despite its complexity, the message was studded with quotable paragraphs. In subsequent issues we plan to discuss some of them.

FEPC FILIBUSTER

In the midst of the gravest crisis this nation has ever faced, with the people looking to their elected leaders for vigorous leadership, a few U. S. Senators have deemed it opportune to demonstrate the truth of the late Senator Robinson's wry remark: "When a Senator once takes the floor, nobody but Almighty God can interrupt him." Reflecting instead of correcting the times, the U. S. Senate has banked its fires and enveloped itself in the chill fog of a filibuster.

Two weeks ago, in the lull preceding the President's address to Congress, Senator Chavez of New Mexico brought up the FEPC bill guaranteeing equality of opportunity to every citizen regardless of race, creed or color. The Southern Senators, to whom this emphasis on the Bill of Rights is a shocking piece of subversive radicalism, immediately prepared to resist to the limit this challenge to Southern (white) honor. Crying out upon the deplorable lack of "senatorial courtesy" which would foist a controversial issue upon the Senate in the midst of a traditional truce (i.e., the period between the opening of the session and the President's speech), the Southern bloc promised to meet the challenge with a filibuster that

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would end only with the withdrawal of the FEPC motion.

On their side, the proponents of FEPC offered a convincing defense of their action. The bill, they pointed out, was on the Senate calendar last May. It was the first bill on the calendar for the present session. No other bill was ready for second reading. The bill was explicitly asked for by the President, responding to the will of a large majority in the nation. Against all this they saw the fears and prejudices of a certain portion of the South over the threat to white supremacy. So justice was allowed its triumph.

The sorry spectacle of all action blocked in the Senate by the obstinacy of a small minority raises again the old question of a filibuster's legitimacy. The Senate is justly proud and jealous of its freedom of debate. But when this freedom can be, and often is, abused to the hurt of the nation, another and higher principle must apply. The Senate is a representative body, not a private club. That it may fulfil its basic obligation it must restrict its freedom to the extent of outlawing filibusters—the senatorial equivalent of a wildcat strike.

RUTHENIAN CATHOLICS

Catholics of every rite and nation should make themselves familiar with the historic facts reviewed in the latest Encyclical of Pope Pius XII, *Orientales Ecclesiae*, published January 19 on the 350th anniversary of the reunion of the Ruthenian Church with Rome. The Encyclical laments the persecution of these peoples—Carpatho-Russians and Ukrainians, of Eastern, Byzantine Rite but in union with Rome—in the lands now occupied and claimed by Soviet Russia. (Cf. *Tragedy in the Ukraine*, AMERICA, January 5, 1946, p. 377.) In conclusion, the Pope appeals to God to calm the tempest; and urges the Catholic world to prayer and penance so that the Church in Ruthenia may once more be free.

The Holy Father points out that the Patriarch of Moscow himself, Alexis, in a recent letter to the Ruthenian Church, openly praises defection of these Eastern-rite Catholics from the Catholic Church. Both State Church and Government, in Tsarist days, were hostile to Eastern-Rite Catholics. In reviving their bad example, the present Soviet-controlled Church nails the lid on the coffin of religious freedom in Russia.

DE GAULLE RESIGNS

General de Gaulle, temporary President of France, struck dismay into the hearts of his own people and of the world when on January 20 he announced he was giving up his office, and his secretary, M. Palewski, stated that the decision was "irrevocable." He was finished with "politics," politics being the tactics of the French Communist Party. The weight of the blow was not much softened by his subsequent letter to Félix Gouin, President of the Constituent Assembly, in which he expressed his belief that "France is no longer in an alarming situation." These words were anything but convincing, and Léon Blum, veteran Socialist leader, declared bluntly: "The material and moral condition facing the new Government is the worst since the liberation."

Nevertheless, the motives for de Gaulle's action are fairly easy to conjecture. The immediate occasion was the Communist refusal to allot sufficient funds for the rehabilitation of the French army, as de Gaulle conceives it. But the matter goes much deeper. When de Gaulle formed his Government, he stubbornly resisted pressure to entrust to the Communists the key, policy-making posts in the Cabinet. In their stead, he assigned to them the heavy responsibility of conducting the Ministry of Economics and the Ministry of National Production. He knew that any non-Communist in charge of either of these offices would be the target of merciless Communist attacks. In the meanwhile the Communists have made his position increasingly difficult by their political maneuvers. They have fought against his efforts to have the Constituent Assembly develop a constitutional government for the Fourth Republic more or less on the plan of the United States. Through Jacques Duclos' proposal of a joint government with the Socialists, they hope to force the MRP, the Popular Republican Movement or Christian social-minded party further to the Right. In that way they could create a new line of cleavage in French politics, Left against Right, progressive against reactionary, instead of the present division: Communists vs. the different types of socially progressive parties: Socialists and MRP.

General de Gaulle is therefore credited with having forestalled a Communist absorption of the Socialist party. He has forced a showdown, by putting squarely in their hands the problem of extricating France from its economic plight. He has placed himself in the powerful seat of the Opposition. He has brought out into the open what millions of democratically minded and patri-

otic Frenchmen deeply resent: interference in their internal affairs by Moscow.

The most immediately distressing element in the presidential resignation is its effect upon France's foreign relations. If de Gaulle had been replaced by Maurice Thorez as temporary President, and Foreign Minister Georges Bidault by Pierre Cot or some other Communist stalwart, France's prestige with the western world would have been ruinously impaired. Yet with all that is to the bad, it can be counted to the good that de Gaulle has at least forced the truth to the surface. Events of the coming weeks will show whether with a short-range defeat he has won a long-range victory. The Assembly's election of Félix Gouin as President of the Provisional Government leaves the door open for possible MRP participation in a three-party regime. A Popular Front rule would rob France of her last hopes for outside aid in her economic and financial plight.

SLOVAKIA SUFFERS

Czecho-Slovakia has been under process of reconstruction even since Dr. Benes and his government (first recognized in London on July 29, 1941) returned to Prague on February 26, 1945. There are indications that the reconstruction is not proceeding at the same rate nor following the same pattern in all parts of the composite country.

It was only on October 28, 1918, that the Czecho-Slovak state came into existence. On the very day following the bloodless revolution in Prague, the Slovak National Council voted to cast its lot with Bohemia and Moravia in forming the new composite republic of Czecho-Slovakia. Seeing the possibilities of dividing the Czechs and the Slovaks, Hitler had found the necessary collaborators within Slovakia and on March 14, 1939, the "Republic of Slovakia" declared its independence and put itself under the "protection" of Germany. The Nuremberg trials revealed that the declaration and the treaty were the work of von Ribbentrop. Nobody, including many Slovaks, took the "Republic" seriously and, when war came in 1939, it was considered occupied territory.

Now it seems that one tyrant has been exchanged for another. Dr. Benes' government has little to say about the disposition of Slovakia. The process of reconstruction and de-Nazification is being carried on under the watchful eye of the Kremlin. The Slovaks have a Roman Catholic majority, and therefore it is natural to expect Catholics would have a voice in the government. Yet the following is what reliable Catholic Slovaks, who suffered under the Gestapo and were uncon-

nected with the collaborationists and "Hlinkovites," report from their homeland:

Our accusation is not directed against President Dr. Ed. Benes nor the Czecho-Slovak Republic, but solely against the present rulers of Slovakia, that is, against the representatives of the Slovak National Council. . . . All of these are Moscow orientated; while in the Democratic Party there is a strong Lutheran governing body, which considers only an Evangelical of the Augsburg Confession to be a true Slovak. In Slovakia, in other words, there are only two parties: the Democratic, strongly Lutheran, and the Communist, strongly Russophile.

Of the two parties mentioned, the Communist is dominant. Efforts of the Democrats to introduce a spirit of liberty and tolerance are effectively opposed, while political posts and the school system are being filled with persons likely to favor incorporation into the USSR.

The following grievances in the field of religion cause most trouble to Slovak Catholics:

1. Abolition of all Catholic and denominational schools generally. On May 16, 1945, the Slovak National Council decreed their nationalization, effective immediately. The Slovaks are particularly grieved because, in 1924, when the Prague government had the idea of nationalizing schools, the plan was referred to the people and rejected in a popular vote. The present nationalization not only expropriates the Church and Orders of their schools but prevents teaching of religion.

2. Nationalization of Catholic academies and other cultural institutions, effective July 26, 1945.

3. Repression of the 32 Catholic periodicals in existence before the war. Only three are (theoretically) allowed to publish, but they cannot obtain paper.

4. Dissolution of Catholic, even strictly religious, organizations and societies, including the Federation of Catholic Youth, which numbered 36,000 boys and girls.

5. Suppression of Catholic charities and their disposal to non-religious groups.

In the name of the Catholic episcopate, the Archbishop of Nitra, Dr. Karol Kmetko, has made representation to the Government, particularly about the religious schools. To date his appeals have met with no response. The representations of the Bishops have been in vain. A major feature of the "reconstruction" of Slovakia is not merely the eradication of Nazism where it may have existed—a legitimate aim—but the total destruction of Roman Catholicism. The pattern is the same as that followed in the other potential member-states of the USSR. There is no room for Roman Catholics, despite all protests of freedom of religion. Slovakia's sufferings appeal to the conscience of the world.

LITERATURE AND ART

BOOKS AND DOORS

FRANCIS SWEENEY

I HAVE BEEN TRYING to recall the first book that I ever read, and I cannot decide whether it was *Mother West Wind's Children*, by Thornton W. Burgess, or a painless geography called *Around the World with the Children*. They were library books, for in that summer between the second and third grades I was beginning to patronize the big granite and brownstone public library that stood in the center of town. If you read five library books and answered a questionnaire about them, you received a certificate from some State agency, with the seal of Massachusetts in blue and gold on it, and the precise, square-cornered signature of Miss Merrill, the librarian.

Thornton W. Burgess's talking foxes and urbane crows delighted me for months, and I found Uncle Remus' animals only less wonderful, although the dialect was difficult to penetrate.

The great discovery of my boyhood reading was the books of Percy Keese Fitzhugh. He wrote dozens of them about a series of Boy Scout characters: Tom Slade, Pee-Wee Harris, Wig-Wag Wiegand and Roy Blakely. They are full of the wonder-color and adventure-quest of boyhood, and real kids live in them, not the wax figures of the preposterous *Tom Swift and His Motor Boat*, *Tom Swift and His Giant Cannon* and a long list of other groupings on the same deadly pattern.

Fitzhugh's triumph was the character of Roy Blakely. Roy knew the town fire-alarm signals by heart; he had a bottomless barrel of puns and quips and stunts; he forgave his enemies without ostentation, and in secret he gave away things he valued. At an age when hero-worship and self-identification feed on reading, an ideal was embodied perfectly in the humor and the light-hearted wisdom and the vast charity of Roy Blakely.

Hardly less entertaining than Fitzhugh's books were those of Father Francis J. Finn, S.J. But while Tom Playfair had as much blood in him as Roy Blakely, his escapades were set in a decor of gas-mantles, horse-cars and button-shoes. Having said that, and perhaps added that some of Father Finn's plots violated what Aristotle would call the laws of probability and necessity, I can lay no other qualification on my enthusiasm for the books of the "Discoverer of the American Catholic boy."

Where Roy Blakely was non-sectarian, Playfair and Harry Dee and Claude Lightfoot and Percy Wynn lived their lives in the sunlight of the Blessed Sacrament. Who could ever forget Claude Lightfoot's First Communion? From behind a hedge he heard three men plotting to smash the tabernacle of a country church and violate the Blessed Sacrament. Alone, with no possibility of summoning help, Claude ran across the fields, found the tabernacle key in the lonely church and, with the tears streaming, consumed the Sacred Hosts.

Other priest-authors followed in Father Finn's path—Father Spaulding with his tales of the Kentucky frontier, Father Garroll's Freddy Carr books (rather British for American taste), and Father Neil Boyton's incomparable stories of Scout camps and India and Coney Island. I venture that Father Boyton's *On the Sands of Coney* is the best of the entire genre. In his fifteenth book, *The Summer*

Jimmie Never Saw, published in 1945, he still shows the magic touch.

Inevitably I read Tarkington's Penrod books, and liked them not as well as Judge Shute's uproarious memoirs of his boyhood—perhaps because Tarkington wrote accurately and resourcefully about boys, but from an adult viewpoint. *Plupy and Old J. Albert* and *The Real Diary of a Real Boy* are books so authentically boyish as to be wretchedly misspelled. Penrod's doings were colorless beside Plupy Shute's misadventures as assistant to the town swill-collector.

It must have been in my tenth summer that my reading took an ambitious turn. Perhaps it was due to the urging of a bookish cousin that not all of my reading should be for pleasure—some of it should have teeth in it. At any rate, I began to read Adin Ballou's six-pound *History of Milford*. I believe that I slogged through thirty pages before giving over the agony of resolution. Some time later I decided to master Gaelic, and for two weeks I drove myself to such efforts that it is only recently that I have forgotten the Gaelic alphabet. The only fragment my memory retains from that encounter is the title of one of the exercises in the grammar, a model of Irish circumspection, "Conversation of a Young Man With a Young Woman, His Cousin."

I devoured one after another of Horatio Alger's tales of virtue rewarded. It is difficult to account for the fascination they worked on my mind. At this distance I can only surmise that it lay in the fact that I became so attached to the heroes of the books I read that I was anxious to see their trials end happily. And Alger always did so handsomely by his characters! Even the villains are paid off generously, a circumstance in which the reader acquiesces because the hero's rewards are so fabulous.

Curtis Waring, the villain of *Adrift in New York*, who had abducted his cousin in order to secure his uncle's estate—even the oily Curtis comes in for a share of Alger's largesse.

"As for you, Curtis Waring, my eyes are open at last to your villainy. You deserve nothing at my hands; but I will make some provision for you."

There was another surprise.

Curtis Waring's deserted wife, brought from California by Dodger, entered the room, leading by the hand a young child.

"Oh, Curtis," she said reproachfully. "How could you leave me? I have come to you, my husband, with our little child."

"Begone, woman," said Curtis, furiously. "I will never receive nor recognize you."

"Curtis Waring," said Linden, sternly, "unless you receive this woman and treat her properly, you shall receive nothing from me."

"And if I do?"

"You will receive an income of two thousand dollars a year, payable quarterly."

One Christmas my mother gave me a copy of the Modern Library edition of Francis Thompson's poems, in the hope that I would be interested in his children's verses. I dutifully learned "Little Jesus Wast Thou Shy?" but I distrusted and disliked poetry, except for the woodshed idylls of James Whitcomb Reilly and Edgar Guest.

But when my mother began to find in the corners of magazine pages little poems by a young poet named Leonard Feeney, the simple, sweetly-tuned lyrics sang their way into

my memory. I still have many of them by heart, and they are all the more precious because woven with the verse fabric are the tones of my mother's voice, as she read them to me on quiet, lamp-lit evenings long ago. The same quick ear for beauty and the loveliness of people I found in Father Feeney's sketches, especially in "Evangeline," "Little Slipper Street" and "Cousin Willie." I did not realize it, but Catholic writing was putting on new garments and moving confidently in new directions in the luminous vision of Leonard Feeney's first childhood.

Whatever the first book was that I read all the way through all by myself, I know now that as I spelled my way down the last page, massive portals were swinging open for me—the gates of the kingdom of books. And as Ghilberti's bronze doors of the Florentine baptistery are alive with the tremendous iconography of the Fall and the Redemption, my doors were graven with imperishable faces and dramatic meetings. There was Odysseus slaying the suitors, arrow after arrow flying from the bow; the national sweep and America-color of *John Brown's Body*; Henry Adams' description of the west porch of Chartres; H. V. Morton's picture of the Lake of Gennesareth at dawn; the martyrdom of the hunted priest in *Labyrinthine Ways*; Portia before the court; Campion's *Brag* and More going gaily to the block; Mr. Pickwick on the Muggleton coach; Nicholas Nickleby thrashing Wackford Squeers; Sidney Carton whispering, "It is a far, far better thing that I do than I have ever done"; William Cullen Bryant watching the flight of a waterfowl across a Berkshire lake; the tall nun calling to Christ from the foundering *Deutschland*; Francis blessing Assisi from a hilltop; Daudet's island in the Rhone at Avignon (*on y danse, on y danse*); Newman at Oscott hailing the "portent worthy of a cry"—the second spring of the English Church; Mother Valencia saying, "Regard us, because we do not fail"; Edna Millay's burning and bitter elegy for Sacco and Vanzetti; Chips chuckling, "Never had any children? But I have, you know . . . thousands of 'em, and all boys"; Colonel Newcome in his pensioner's gown with the Order of the Bath about his neck; old Father Vincent McNabb singing *Salve Regina* over the dying Chesterton.

DUBLIN LETTER

THE CLOSE OF 1945 was the greatest season of book-buying known in Ireland for many years. Several important publications were issued by Messrs. M. H. Gill and Son, Browne and Nolan, the Talbot Press and the Kerryman, a new press which has retained the name of the famous old Tralee newspaper. This press promises to become one of the most progressive firms in the south of Ireland. These, with the books by Irish authors coming from the English publishers, left no shortage for our readers.

Of the English-published books, one of the most talked-of is the third volume of Sean O'Casey's Memoirs (Macmillan. 15/-), entitled *Drums Under the Window*. O'Casey wrote three famous plays which sprang out of the Dublin slums. I understand that when these plays were submitted to the Directors of the Abbey Theatre, where they were produced, they were subjected to severe pruning. It is a great pity that this book was not also submitted to a reader of judgment and good taste. But since his success in Dublin, Mr. O'Casey has shaken the dust of the old Capital from his feet, and made his home in England, so probably he forgets that he might never have been heard of were it not for the recognition and support he received in Dublin and even for the

storm which one of his plays aroused, creating a reputation in the dramatic world.

Drums Under the Window is, I believe, one of the bitterest books written by an Irishman in this century. The author seems to have dipped his pen in vitriol, and the fine writing of the earlier part of the book, when he describes so touchingly the tragic scenes of his home life and experiences, is stultified by a mind that can manufacture the garbage he throws so venomously at everything that Ireland holds dear—her Faith, her love of the great men, Saints, martyrs and scholars, who live in her history. No patriot is exempt, from Tone, Emmet, down to Arthur Griffith and the statesmen of today.

Not satisfied with this he has to poke fun at the holy old man, Matt Talbot, until one wonders what personal grievance so obsessed the writer to make him appear like a man shouting in a street brawl without breeding or self-control. It is sad to see an author with the talent of O'Casey vilifying everyone and everything in his country, forgetful of the fact that people are always dubious of the man who fouls his own nest.

Brendan the Navigator (M. H. Gill and Son. 10/6), the story of Saint Brendan and his great exploits, might make a wider or more popular appeal if Dr. George Little, the author, had not, as it were, over-documented this most interesting biography. Yet for the scholar and serious-minded, here is a book which is sure to fascinate American readers, as it has already achieved an outstanding success since its appearance in Ireland.

Of special interest is the study of that period before Saint Brendan, undaunted by the misgivings of many, and trusting to the real Guidance which he never doubted, set sail with his valiant crew in the worthy craft they had built for the great adventure. The most informing part of the biography is that devoted to the knowledge at the disposal of these saintly scholars, showing the standard of culture of the period. We learn first the faith of Saint Brendan in his exploit, how the craft was constructed, the long period of waiting for the hour, and then we are carried away to the high seas, proud of the achievement and the saintly captain and crew.

Dr. George Little comes of one of the oldest and most distinguished Catholic families in Ireland. He is President of the Old Dublin Society, which is doing a magnificent work in delving into the sources of Ireland's history. One of the most stimulating bodies at present in Dublin, this Society is composed of voluntary research students each specializing in some particular branch of social, ecclesiastical, architectural, dramatic and other work. It meets weekly. These meetings are not dry as dust, as one might assume, but exciting, critical and extremely interesting. Many of the papers read are subsequently published in the admirable Journal of the Society.

Just as I am about to close my letter, an advance copy of Father Senan's *Capucin Annual* arrives with a most artistic frontispiece of Saint Brendan in his craft. Father Senan, O.M.C., is considered one of the most astute editors in Ireland. He has launched many of the promising young authors of today, and his knowledge of and work for Irish art have placed him high up in the front rank of discriminating judges.

The Capucin Annual (\$2.50) is beautifully produced, and illustrated in color and line by Irish artists. It contains an amount of literary criticism, essays and short stories, and is a publication that should have a place in all cultured homes interested in keeping in touch with the intellectual life of Ireland.

KATHLEEN O'BRENNAN

BOOKS

SOLVING THE FARM PROBLEM

AGRICULTURE IN AN UNSTABLE ECONOMY. By Theodore W. Schultz. McGraw-Hill Book Co. \$2.75

THE PRESENT SURVEY of American agricultural economy takes as its starting point the old but frequently overlooked principle that farm problems must necessarily be studied in relation to the general economy. The correlative principle is also recognized that no consideration of the overall economic structure is complete unless agriculture is treated as an integral part of the pattern. Through this independent research study, Professor Schultz has benefited not only the Committee for Economic Development which sponsored it but also everyone seriously interested in a rationalized and relatively permanent solution of our thirty-year-old farm problem.

The author has incorporated into one volume of three hundred pages valuable information on agricultural population, labor, income and prices. Hitherto much of the data could be found only in miscellaneous reports of the Departments of Agriculture and Labor or in scattered monographs. The original contribution of the work consists in the succinct and comprehensive analysis of two basic problems: the underproductive and hence inadequately remunerative employment in agriculture and the perennial instability of farm income. Numerous charts and graphs complement the closely reasoned and clearly written text. Primarily a book for economists, social scientists and leaders in industry and finance, *Agriculture in an Unstable Economy* will also be read profitably by all concerned with the formulation of policies affecting the rural portion of our population.

There are many sociological reasons why rural living is favorable to family life and to a high rate of fertility. There are other reasons, some of them economic, why the actual farm population has steadily declined for several decades. These are facts which Professor Schultz takes for granted in his survey. In pointing out the economic problem which has resulted from higher farm productivity through technological development, he in no way denies the values inherent in rural living or the distinct sociological advantages of the family-size farm. There are indications that he favors both, even though his survey reveals the dangers of excess farms and acreage in view of the inelasticity of farm-products consumption. The author stresses the need for further industrial expansion to absorb the excess labor of predominantly agricultural regions. Clearly this can be accomplished satisfactorily by decentralized as well as expanded industry. Thus there need not be any hindrance to rural living even though the number of full-time farms is necessarily restricted by potential demand for their products.

The instability of farm income is traced not to any fault in agriculture as such. If anything, the stability of its production despite fluctuations of the business cycle is an asset to the entire economy. Farmers can and do respond only slowly to increased demand and to boom prices, and their reaction to depression conditions is correspondingly slow. The cause of fluctuating farm prices and unstable farm income must therefore be found in the industrial and business side of the economy. The first and most obvious conclusion is that permanent farm prosperity can be the outcome of full production and full employment and cannot be achieved with any certainty by such expedients as restricted acreage, parity- and support-prices and other artificial means.

Farmers, says the author, are instinctively on the right track when they favor stable credit and money managed on a national scale rather than temporary assistance to certain agricultural products or regions. Since, however, some assistance is needed in times of depression, it should take the form of compensatory payments which look forward to keeping supply in line with demand and maintaining stable prices on all farm products. The parity principle, based on a historic situation, has not achieved such stability but has merely unbalanced the whole farm economy.

WILLIAM J. GIBBONS

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS UNDER WLB

LABOR TODAY AND TOMORROW. By Aaron Levenstein. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75

ONE OF THE FIRST CASUALTIES of the war was collective bargaining.

Scarcely had the smoke cleared from the wreckage at Pearl Harbor than the late President Roosevelt summoned leaders of labor and management to Washington and asked them to agree on a program for settling wartime industrial disputes peacefully. Both sides were willing to accept compulsory arbitration by a Government agency, but split over the kinds of disputes to be submitted to it. Labor wanted all disputes to be referred to the arbitration board; management insisted that the closed shop be barred from consideration. Finally, with Christmas approaching and no agreement in sight, the President intervened, thanked the conferees for reaching an "agreement" and proceeded to set up the War Labor Board to settle *all* disputes between labor and management that threatened to impede production.

Against this uncertain background, labor and management marched off to war. They had struck a truce, but there was no peace between them. Fortunately for the country, the Sewell Averys on the management side and the John L. Lewises on the labor side turned out to be exceptions. Production went ahead with relatively few stoppages.

This is the story Mr. Levenstein tells, the story of labor and management under the War Labor Board from January, 1942, to the summer of 1945. He believes, and rightly so, that the history is worthwhile not only in itself but even more in its implications for the future.

Using the Montgomery-Ward case to symbolize the issues which disturbed wartime labor-management relations, and which have not yet been settled, the author has written a book which contains more facts per square inch of paper than readers have any right to expect. While the sentences run along easily in current jargon, the book is commendably realistic and objective. Although the expert will learn little from it that he does not already know, the rest of us will find in it an insight into current industrial relations such as cannot be gained from the press and radio.

Mr. Levenstein's discussion of the rights of management struck me as being especially good. It provides excellent material for an understanding of some current controversies; as does his competent treatment of the union-security question. The observation that neither labor nor management "has faced up to the reality that the simple lines of laissez-faire have been permanently erased and that new lines must be drawn" is very shrewd and to the point. More than anything else it explains why even the bitterest struggles today

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between labor and management seem, for all their suffering and danger, to have only a temporary significance.

The book is well documented and has a helpful index. If you have been interested in the headlines lately, you will find Mr. Levenstein's essay in current history absorbing reading.

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

DATA REDUCED TO SYSTEM

How WE INFLUENCE ONE ANOTHER. A Psychology of Social Interaction. By Vincent V. Herr, S.J. The Bruce Publishing Co. \$2.25

FATHER HERR'S BOOK is not just another text in social psychology. There are plenty of those on the market now. The author has set out to synthesize the data which social psychologists have been accumulating for so long, and he performs his task in the light of the *philosophia perennis*. I think most psychologists will agree that he has proved his point that while "we are profoundly influenced by others in ways that we do not always foresee, many kinds of interaction depend upon the deliberately formed and consciously modifiable attitude of the individual."

When certain social psychologists flaunt the opposite thesis that society confers human nature upon us, they are merely stressing the fact that many people are passive recipients of culture. But, unfortunately, they sidestep the issue of cultural origins. The dogma of the societal determination of the individual is only a shift of attitude on the part of those who deny the freedom of the will, and Father Herr makes a good attack on this position. Personally, I think he should have acquainted his readers with the foundations of this opinion in Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl and others. Freud's theories of social psychology, which have colored so much writing in this field, might also be mentioned. But this omission does not vitiate the value of Father Herr's arguments.

The author shows keen discernment in his critiques of certain aspects of methodology and theory in his science, and these make his book invaluable to both student and teacher. In general, Father Herr shows a predilection for the current authors, but he does not always marshal the best of even the moderns. In his treatment of children's attitude towards virtues, he mentions the work of Hartshorne, May and Maller and properly assesses their work. But he fails to mention the fine work of Sister Marie McGrath and of Piaget. Strong's monumental work on interests is not invoked, and the studies of Lawton and others on senescence, which are important in social psychology, are not mentioned. These omissions are cited as suggestions for the expansion of this book and not as criticisms of a book that deserves a wide use as a text. From the standpoint of the teacher, it is excellent, as it will force the student to read other literature and yet give him a grasp of the subject, with supplementary reading, such as he could not get from many of the texts in current use.

The brief summaries at the end of each chapter, the critical evaluation of the authors cited in the bibliography and the easy style of the text deserve special commendation. But the reviewer cannot but regret the decision of the publisher to use such fine print and poor format for a book that deserves the very best that could be given in this respect.

H. J. BIHLER, S.J.

PASCAL AND HIS SISTER JACQUELINE. By M. V. Woodgate. B. Herder Book Co. \$2

THIS ABSORBING BIOGRAPHICAL study brings Pascal, the Jansenists and Port Royal within the reach of the aver-

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age reader. This, in itself, is a distinct contribution. In addition, the facts presented about the life of Pascal's sister, Jacqueline, are here available for the first time in English.

Blaise Pascal, one of the world's greatest geniuses, mathematician, inventor and philosopher, three hundred years after his death, is probably closer to the twentieth century than many contemporary writers. Woodgate's small volume kept this reviewer's interest from cover to cover, re-kindled his enthusiasm and sent him back not only to the classic *Lettres Provinciales*, but also to Pascal's *Pensées* and *Lettres*. In his works may be found a renewal of faith which is so sadly needed by the world today. Too often simple people who have faith are scorned by their fellows, but when a genius of the caliber of Pascal devotes his last years entirely to the contemplation of God, after a turbulent life almost wholly governed by pure reason and philosophy, even scientists and renowned writers are moved by his example, so puzzling yet so impelling.

The author's story of the Pascal family: the father, himself a famous mathematician who had educated his motherless children unaided; Pascal's elder sister, Mme. Périer; his younger sister, Jacqueline, who became a nun at Port Royal—forms a vivid background for understanding Blaise's and Jacqueline's subsequent conversions and everlasting search for truth. The author has stressed Pascal's dependence upon his sister Jacqueline and her deep-rooted influence on him, as well as her moral responsibility for the asceticism and austerity of the years preceding his death. The story of her death at thirty-six and his at thirty-eight are deeply moving spiritual experiences for the reader. PIERRE COURTTINES

THE MARRIAGE OF JOSEPHINE. By Marjorie Coryn.

D. Appleton-Century Co. \$3

THIS IS THE THIRD of Miss Coryn's planned four novels of the Napoleonic era based on her research in the archives of Paris. It is a revealing picture of the beautiful but immoral Josephine de Beauharnais who became the one consuming love of Napoleon's life.

Written in five parts, this dramatic bit of historical fiction covers the period in French history between 1794 and 1799. It presents a panorama of social, political and moral corruption that is appalling, and against which Napoleon stands alone as a person of high moral principles and ideals. The author deserves commendation for the delicacy and restraint with which she handles her precarious subject, and for the very clever vein of satire she employs in her character delineations.

Josephine is portrayed as exquisitely beautiful of face and form, graceful, refined, fascinating, but utterly selfish, shallow, vain, grasping, unscrupulous, faithless and immoral. Imperiously she favors anyone who can satisfy her craving for lovely clothes and jewels, and uses all her wiles on the most influential political figure of the moment. Barras, Robespierre's successor, becomes her favorite paramour. He, in turn, uses her for his political schemes, and thus it is that she meets the young General Bonaparte. Believing her the angel she so enchantingly pretends to be, Napoleon falls deeply in love with her. Ten days before he is to leave on his Italian Campaign he implores Josephine to marry him. She is horrified at the very idea; but remembering his fine salary and that most probably he will not return from battle, she consents.

So overwhelming is Napoleon's love for his wife that she becomes his inspiration, and all his brilliant conquests are but trophies laid at her feet, while she continues to regard him only with scorn and ridicule. He finally learns of her latest affair with a Captain Charles and becomes ill with disillu-

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sionment, bitterness and disgust. He denounces her and threatens divorce; but Josephine, forsaken by her other lovers, again uses all her wiles on the husband she had wronged. The "Child of Destiny" who had been so invincible in battle could not resist the pleading and cajoling of his brazen but bewitching Josephine.

Miss Coryn tells this story with her usual dramatic finesse and, as in *Goodbye, My Son*, arouses the sympathy of the reader for the betrayed, earnest little General from Corsica.

ANGELA C. O'HARA

MOLDERS OF OPINION. Edited by David Bulman. The Bruce Publishing Co. \$1.75

THE MOLDERS OF OPINION with whom this book deals are fourteen columnists and radio commentators, and their Profiles are written by twelve practising journalists. They originally appeared in *Sign* magazine. This reviewer was interested in the rating given to each of them, and he came up with the following score—*favorable*: Paul Mallon, Walter Lippmann, Westbrook Pegler, Sumner Welles, David Lawrence, John B. Kennedy, George E. Sokolsky; *unfavorable*: H. V. Kaltenborn, Fulton Lewis, Jr., Raymond Gram Swing, Drew Pearson, Walter Winchell; *ironical but kindly*: Dorothy Thompson, Gabriel Heatter. Conspicuously missing are Mark Sullivan, Frank Kent, F. R. Bauknight and Ernest Lindley. Some of the profiles are written with more penetrating research than others. Not all have the same criterion of judgment, and it is possible that if the same writers had written of others on the list the score above might be reversed. All of them make interesting, some, lively, reading.

WILFRID PARSONS

MY AMERICAN ADVENTURE. By Erna Barschak. Ives, Washburn and Co. \$2.75

MISS BARSCHAK was Professor of Psychology in the Graduate School of Berlin University until dismissed by the Nazis in 1933. Thereafter she traveled in Switzerland and England, procured work as a child psychologist in England and stayed there until 1940; when the bombings became intense she came to the United States. This is the story of her experiences here, her efforts to find work in her profession, and her reactions to various phases of American life. Although she met indifference, misunderstanding and even downright dishonesty, she did not become bitter but viewed her failures as results of her own ignorance of American ways.

Gradually she learned that she must not hang her bedding out the window to air, that only her truest friends would tell her the truth about her clothes and pronunciation, that when she was invited for the weekend her hostess would give her no rest but would see to it that there is "something doing every minute." She has not learned why girls with perfectly groomed hair, teeth and nails will constantly wear dirty white shoes, why people with beautiful dining-rooms eat in the backyard, or why young girls give so much attention to "catching" a man but so little to enriching their minds so they may be real companions to their husbands.

Miss Barschak has written no penetrating sociological study, but an amusing, informal account of the trivis of everyday living in America as she found it. Her book is an excellent bit of entertainment.

MARY L. DUNN

FOUR ESSAYS ON GULLIVER'S TRAVELS. By Arthur E. Case. Princeton University Press. \$2

PROFESSOR CASE'S FOUR ESSAYS add up to a tidy monograph on certain bibliographical, geographical and chronological, historical and, finally, critical aspects of

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Gulliver's Travels. They are addressed more to the specialist than to the general reader, though this latter mythical monster may conceivably profit by the fascinating questions of literary provenance raised by the fourth essay, "The Significance of *Gulliver's Travels*"; and a student of Whig-Tory cabals in the era of Oxford and Bolingbroke will find the satirical identification of essay Number Three of some value.

Mr. Case avails himself of the traditional Germanic apparatus of textual collation and microscopic analysis of factual data which American research has long made its own; and he does it impeccably. One may question, however, whether the law of diminishing returns has not begun to operate against this method when it is applied to such minor cruces as the exact geography of the Gulliverian hemisphere. Fantasts like Machen or Dunsany can search for Hybrasil using Mercator's projection and not go amiss, for their rudder stays slack in mock-serious vein. But Mr. Case's taut seriousness here begs the question of the creative writer's notoriously cynical exploitation of devices to produce verisimilitude. More damning still, it leaves out of consideration the psychology of Swift himself. Finicking about with maps better suits the preciser cogitations of Wells, or even Poe. As for Swift, the Dean's *risus sardonicus* might well assign such minute speculations to the flying island of Laputa and its Academy of Lagado.

Swift once wrote to Pope that "the chief end I propose to myself in all my labors is to vex the world rather than divert it." But time has played a scurvy trick upon this bitterest of satirists, and the paradox of *Gulliver* today is that it represents a veritable case of *Hamlet* without the Prince, and diverts more as whimsy than vexes as satire. Nonetheless, scholarship still has a duty to scrutinize its motivating preconceptions. This duty Mr. Case discharges very well indeed. Just the same, one should like to break a Lilliputian lance with him over the problem of Gulliver's "scatological incidents," which he dismisses, too superficially, as "apparently motivated in part by a desire to burlesque the habits of travel writers who assume that the most trivial occurrences in which they have been involved must be of interest to their readers." Perhaps. But the thing goes much deeper. Swift, in common with such another Juvenalian satirist as Aldous Huxley, who suffers from a similar "dead dog" complex, was perversely moved by an excessive mental fastidiousness that, perhaps for the very reason he was incapable of normal carnality, turned in upon itself and rended itself like a hyena consuming offal, but, unlike a hyena, was alternately fascinated and horrified by the hideous nature of its carrion repast.

CHARLES A. BRADY

H. G. QUARITCH WALES, formerly adviser to the British General Staff in India and Malaya, is the author of *Years of Blindness*.

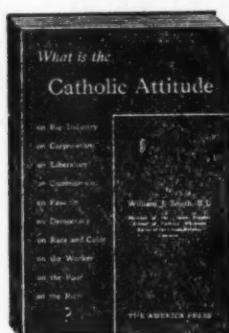
WALTER J. MILLER, S.J., Ph.D. in Astronomy from Harvard, who has been Professor of Astronomy at Woodstock College, Md., until recently, is now on the staff of the Vatican Observatory at Castel Gandolfo. FRANCIS SWEENEY, S.J., teaches classics at Cranwell Preparatory School, Lenox, Mass.

KATHLEEN O'BRENNAN is secretary of the Irish branch of P.E.N., the international literary society.

REV. H. J. BIHLER, S.J., is professor of experimental psychology at Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.

PIERRE COURTINES is professor of Romance languages at Queen's College, Brooklyn. He contributes frequently to French-language magazines and papers.

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THEATRE

THE WINTER'S TALE. Not the least of Shakespeare's talents was his ability to make a fairytale good drama, as Andrew Lang made fairytales good literature. *The Winter's Tale* is as much a fairy story as *Cinderella* or *The Sleeping Beauty*, with a plot as screwy as a dope-eater's daydream. The play was written toward the end of the dramatist's career, when his major interest in life, it seems, was fattening his already ample balance with his banker. Its obvious defects give smart alecks among the current critical corps an opportunity to talk down to the Bard.

They overlook the fact that in the essentials of drama *The Winter's Tale* is on a level with *Hamlet*, *Pygmalion* or *The Emperor Jones*. The motivation is sound and the portrayal of character is mature. When Leontes grows jealous of his wife, no matter how flimsy its cause, his subsequent conduct is the same as Othello's after Iago had poisoned his mind against Desdemona. Florizel's love for Perdita is as true, if not as passionate, as Romeo's love for Juliet. But Leontes is not a mere transcript of Othello nor Florizel a watered-down rewrite of Romeo. Their chief resemblance is that all four were motivated by the passions which have governed human behavior since the beginning of history. In *The Winter's Tale* valid motivation lifts the play above its anachronisms and absurd plot and invests it with dignity and interest.

The direction, by B. Iden Payne and Romney Brent, and the sets and costumes, by Stewart Chaney, reinforce the strength of the play while obscuring its defects. A well balanced company interprets the story with grace and eloquence but want of space forbids proper credits. The production is presented in The Cort by The Theatre Guild.

A YOUNG AMERICAN, produced by The Blackfriars' Guild and directed by Dennis Gurney, rates more discussion than I presently have room for. A distinguished conductor of a symphony orchestra receives a manuscript in the mail and is impressed by its originality and beauty. He decides to include the piece in a future program and invites the composer to share his home while preparing the score for rehearsals. When the young man shows up, his host is astonished to discover that he is—a Negro. It would be easy for the host to renege on his invitation and find other quarters for his protégé; but he happens to be a gentleman as well as an artist.

It hardly needs to be mentioned that the sudden appearance of the Negro in the conductor's household causes complications. The white servants resent his presence as a guest in the house, and the colored menials hired to take their places are but little more reconciled to serving one of their own race. Other things happen, too, and Edwin M. Bronner, the author, weaves the numerous resentments, suspicions and fixed ideas into a provocative, but thoughtful, play. There are times when the action is sluggish, notably in the first act—the worst of all places—and spots where the script is too thin. But those blemishes, if they were noticed by the first-night audience, did not diminish the enthusiasm of the ovation the author received.

A high level of acting is maintained by the whole company, except that Murray C. Stewart, as the composer, is a bit too stiff. Alex Wilson, Martha Jean, Howard Swaine, Joan Field, Hazel Thomas and Louis Peterson, Jr., deserve individual bouquets. In one scene Harry Gerard is radiant as a Negro intellectual. Until February 10, *A Young American* will occupy The Blackfriars' Theatre.

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THE SPIRAL STAIRCASE. Just about everything that guarantees chills and thrills has been assembled here to make a breath-taking melodrama, and those who enjoy unadulterated suspense will probably admit that no recent film has managed to hold them in a more breathless state than this tale built around a psychopathic killer. Getting off to a tense start, the story opens on an afternoon in 1906, when a murder is committed in a small New England hotel. Attention focuses on a mute girl who acts as companion to a bedridden old lady. Dorothy McGuire has the role of the maid-servant, while Ethel Barrymore is cast as the invalid, and both give such outstanding performances that they can only be described as brilliant. In every corridor and shadow of the old mansion where they live danger and death lurk; the woman's two sons, the servants, all fit into the pattern for murder. The killer's hands are obviously pointed toward the tongue-tied girl, since he has always chosen as his victims persons who were physically imperfect. During one terror-packed night, while the bedridden mother begs her servant to leave the house before the fiend strikes, another strangling takes place in the cellar and the dumb girl learns the identity of the murderer. After a climax that will stand your hair on end, the fate of the strangler is settled. Though the story is an interesting one, its manner of presentation far outshines the material itself. Miss McGuire's silent interpretation as the heroine is a gem of perfection. Whether she is expressing devotion to her employer, affection toward the doctor who loves her, or stark terror when trapped by the killer, her pantomime is sensitive and informative. Though Ethel Barrymore has a less demanding role, she is her usual forceful self and scores in each second entrusted to her. Among the men in the cast are George Brent, Gordon Oliver and Kent Smith, who give very creditable performances, but the actresses really steal the show this time. Director Robert Siodmak deserves a generous share of praise for having created and maintained the suspenseful tone and tempo of this thriller. *Adults* must put this brimful-of-interest melodrama on their list. (RKO-Radio)

UP GOES MAISIE. That gal is back again and into a mess of trouble, as usual. If you are a Maisie fan, this episode of her adventures has a generous dose of the usual ingredients—problems, romance and lots of gab from the talkative heroine. Ann Sothern gives us a postwar Maisie who takes a job with the inventor (George Murphy) of a new kind of helicopter, one controlled by an automatic pilot. A double-crossing girl and some men do their best to steal the veteran's machine, but good old Maisie comes to his rescue, foils the villains and pilots the helicopter right into the Rose Bowl. Supporting the stars are Hillary Brooke, Horace McNally, Ray Collins, Murray Alper—to name a few. Any members of the family who consider the antics of the high-strung heroine enjoyable will like her newest ones. (MGM)

MEET ME ON BROADWAY. Even the decorative personages of Marjorie Reynolds and Jinx Falkenberg do not help to lift this musical out of its second-rate rut. A would-be producer (Fred Brady) with a glib, often lying tongue, finally gets his chance when he stages a show for a very social country club. The affairs of the hero and his theatrical friends, who pose as real Broadway top-notchers, are dull from start to finish. Even the incidental songs and dances fail to improve the adult film's entertainment value. (Columbia)

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PARADE

HISTORY AT TIMES comes up with analogs which seem to prefigure events in the future. . . . The outlines of the event prefigured may be but dimly sketched by the analog, a dimly indeed that substantial analysis, functioning like the powder used to bring out finger-prints, may be necessary to point up the resemblances between the analog and the future event.

In 1942, General MacArthur was a beaten man. . . . To masses among the uninformed he appeared as a failure. . . . Even if the Japanese in 1942 had tried, they could scarcely have envisioned this crushed and vanquished leader as the triumphant hero who would lead conquering hosts of the future to final victory. . . . They did not then see that his escape from Corregidor was but the first step along the path to power and glory. . . . They did not pay much heed to the cry, "I shall return," that came from his lips in the dark hour of apparent failure. . . . As 1942 became 1943 and 1944, the faint "I shall return" grew louder, boomed more and more like thunder in Japanese ears. . . . Match-folders, blotters, cards, buttons carrying the words "I shall return" showered down from planes over the Philippine Islands. . . . Japanese nerves grew shakier; Filipino resistance stiffer. . . . At length the MacArthur prediction was fulfilled. . . . At the head of a conquering host he stepped onto the invasion beach, spoke into a microphone: "This is the Voice of Freedom. I have returned. By the grace of Almighty God, our forces stand again on Philippine soil. The hour of your redemption is at hand."

Points of similarity exist between the MacArthur epic and another one of incomparably greater dignity and significance. . . . Around three o'clock in the afternoon of the first Good Friday a desolate Figure hung dying on a Cross. . . . Dressed as a fool, he had been paraded through the city streets. . . . Derisively decorated with a crown of thorns, He had been ridiculed with mock adulation. . . . Scourged to the point of exhaustion, He had been compelled to carry the heavy Cross. . . . And there He hung, an apparent failure. . . . Ludicrous, indeed, to the jeering throngs around the Cross would have seemed the thought that this was not a real but only a seeming failure; that this was but the first step along the path to the most stupendous of all triumphs. . . . He had said He would rise again on the third day, and He did—but not at the head of mighty legions. . . . He had said He would be present invisibly in the Holy Sacrament of the altar, and He is. . . . He had also said He would appear one day in all His power and glory.

This world has never seen Christ in His power and glory. . . . Some day it will. . . . That day, indeed, is already decided upon, and known in Heaven. . . . Perhaps, it will be on a Tuesday, or a Thursday. . . . Or maybe it will be on a Friday, in the afternoon around three o'clock, at the time He seemed to be a crushed and beaten failure. . . . The very angels who will make up the massed legions have already been selected by the Leader. . . . On that day, the world will see a sight it never saw before. . . . It will see Jesus Christ in radiant power and majesty, leading an army that will fill the firmament. . . . On that day, it will hear Jesus Christ speaking to the whole human race, saying equivalently: "I have returned. Once more I stand visibly on earthly soil. For My faithful followers, this is the Voice of Freedom. The hour of your redemption is at hand." . . . That day will write Finis to the worldly history of the human race.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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CORRESPONDENCE

CRITIC TO CRITIC

EDITOR: Well, I cannot say for certain that I "know the doctrine of the distribution of Grace," as it has been such a controversial subject even among the Doctors of the Church, splitting hairs with Saint Paul and Origen and Augustine, but I have read a good deal of what they had to say—if you insist, I think that on the point of doctrine Pascal must have been wrong because he contradicted himself, though he did have pretty strong texts; but he bolstered his argument mainly by calling the Jesuits horse-thieves (so to speak), which, after all, is beside the question to a rigorous mind like mine. So, though I might wish that sufficient Grace might be bestowed upon you to spell my name correctly, I do realize that is not what it does. Nor does it enable a man to write a better novel than he can write by nature.

Neither does the greatest theme add one cubit to the artistic or literary stature of a novelist. If it did, there would be hope for Ethel M. Dell if she got converted; and Harold Bell Wright might rank a little higher. I will say nothing of Aldous Huxley. But I assure you I noticed what Waugh's theme was—and I judged the novel as a novel, a serious judgment in that it was precisely meant. A very immoral novel, too. However, it is not often that the righteous can have such a good time with a good conscience—read *The Green Hat* with a saving sense of edification, too. I wouldn't grudge it to you. Of course, it is a better job technically than *The Green Hat*; there is that also. And the musings of Lord Marchmain are from Strachey. And Mr. Waugh renders his own judgment of his own artistic stature in the give-away of Ryder's "artistic development"—he's been to South America himself.

"Enjoy yourselves; some can."

I. M. P.

New York, N. Y.

New York *Herald Tribune*

CHURCH UNITY

EDITOR: Your editorial on Church Unity Octave in the January 12 issue prompts me to express an idea which I have had for a long time, but which has become more clear during the past three years.

It appears to me that while we must pray for unity, there is the possibility that we depend entirely upon the efficacy of our prayer and, in so doing, fail to recognize our opportunities of acting as instruments of Divine Providence.

Libraries have been written about the doctrinal differences between Protestantism and Catholicism. But the problem mentioned in your editorial—that of the "multitude of those who have never found their way" into the Church, will never be solved by theological discussions. If they are to be united again to their Mother Church, they must be drawn by love of that Church. A love of the Church will come to them through love for its members or representatives. During my eight years as a civilian priest, I never met or had a conversation with a Protestant clergyman. Since I joined the Navy, I have learned that my experience in this regard was not at all unusual. On the other hand, I have also learned that very few Protestant clergymen have ever met or had conversation with Catholic priests.

For the most part, the Protestant clergymen in the Navy became acquainted with the Catholic Church when they

became friendly with their fellow Chaplains who were priests. The priests they met were, generally speaking, capable men, well educated, who could answer questions logically and reasonably and who had the respect of all who knew them. Perhaps a few priests were brusque and showed a readiness to doubt the sincerity and good faith of their Protestant brethren. In general, however, I think it can be safely said that the Catholic Chaplains were good representatives of the Catholic Church. Many ministers took the opportunity to discuss Catholic doctrine and Church law. They found their queries honestly and clearly answered, or their objections ably handled. They learned about the value of unity of command and saw that unity is necessary and that the essential note of unity is a centralized authority.

The first of your problems, namely, the fact that so many Catholics have fallen away, also has a demand to make on the psychological principle of unity through knowledge and love. I have no figures, of course, but I am very conscious of the fact that I brought back to the fold more fallen-away Navy sheep in three years than I did civilians in eight. It is, of course, much easier to get close to the men in the Navy, to find out who are missing Mass and to chat with them about it. It is true, too, that reconversions may well be balanced or over-balanced by the number of servicemen who have fallen by the wayside subsequent to their enlistment. There are no figures on that either, and there is no intention here to advocate military training as a means of saving souls.

What can be done about the problem I don't know, but it seems that the Legion of Mary should get more attention and cooperation in the Parish, and the methods of taking the parish census should be thoroughly studied and improved upon. Preaching does not help much because the man you want is not around to hear you. Writing does not help much either because he won't read it. The friendship of an understanding priest will help.

WILLIAM DORAN
Chaplain, USNR

In Service

CATHOLIC LIVING AND THE NAVY

EDITOR: In his comment on my article (*Catholicism and the U. S. Naval Academy*, AMERICA, Dec. 8, 1945) NAVAL OFFICER misses the issue on at least two points. I made no reference whatever to peacetime conscription. The article has to do with "Catholics thinking of making the Navy a career."

It strikes me as nothing short of calumny to say: "It goes without saying that the percentage of fallings-away [in the Navy] are far higher than in civilian life." On what basis is NAVAL OFFICER making the comparison? Has he an idea of the number of officers who are or should be Catholics in the regular Navy? What is he using as a standard for the defection-percentage in civilian life? Such statistics simply do not exist.

It is very true that life in the Academy and life in the Fleet are quite different propositions. The point behind my article is the fact that officers can and *actually do* live exemplary lives as Catholics while serving in the regular Navy.

Arlington, Va.

CECILIA M. FAHY

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THE WORD

"LORD, SAVE US, we perish!" The Apostles were the first to use that pitiful cry for help. Our Lord Himself was in the boat with them; yet they were afraid. He knew that the storm was going on. He knew just how much of the storm his Apostles could "take." On their part the Apostles should have known that Christ could still the waters. More important, perhaps, they should have known that, even had they perished, they would have gone to death in the company of their God; and that is the greatest blessing that can be given by God to man.

Better than the Apostles, we too know these things—or should. Yet every century since the time of Christ has sent up to God the same appeal: "Lord save us, we perish!" Every century has thought no century before was quite so corrupt, so abandoned to pagan vice, so hopeless. Every century has thought that Christianity was fighting a losing fight on every front. Every century has prayed: "Lord save us, we perish!" And to every century, through struggle, through suffering, has come first the chiding answer of Christ: "Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?" and then the stilling of the storm.

Our own century is no exception. Today we seriously and with good reason wonder if ever people faced such a breakdown of morals as we see round about us, if ever the living of a normal Christian life called for greater heroism. We have good reason to cry: "Lord, save us, we perish," but we have no reason to despair.

Both the prayer and the answer to the prayer are in the Collect of today's Mass: "O God, who dost realize how difficult it is for us to stand up against dangers too great for our weak nature, grant us health of mind and body, so that by Thy help we may be victorious over the sufferings caused by our sins." In the Secret of the Mass we ask that the offering of the Holy Sacrifice "may ever . . . protect our weakness." And in the Postcommunion we pray that "Thy gifts . . . may ever give us new strength by their Heavenly nourishment."

The weakness certainly is there, in us and in the world. Temptation there is, and the difficulty of living in an environment that has ceased to be Christian; but Christ, too, is still in the world, and Christ's love and Christ's strength. No temptation, no ridicule, no difficulty of environment, no suffering can get us down unless we fail to trust in Christ's promise or fail to seek His strength where it should be sought: in prayer, in the Sacrament of Penance, in daily renewed resolves after daily falls, in the offering and the receiving of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

We do no good to ourselves, to the world or to the cause of Christ by continually moaning over the world's misery. Ours today is no greater task than the early Christians faced, no greater than the Dark Ages faced after the fall of the Roman Empire, no greater than the heroes of the Counter-Reformation met, no greater, even, than the task that our own early missionaries in this country met and conquered.

Like all of them we, too, can be saviors of our century if with His help we dedicate ourselves to fulfilling the small or great tasks He gives us daily to do, if we holily cultivate the little acre that He gives us for our field of endeavor in His world, if we achieve our sanctity. In His mysterious Providence the fruits of our own sanctity spread far beyond our own little acre, beyond our family and friends and workshop and parish. Our own saintliness painfully achieved can help to save and sanctify the world entire.

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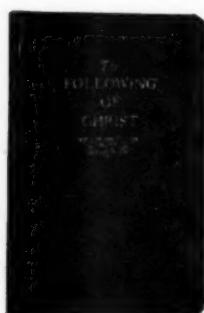
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